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CeaseFire: Breaking Through the Impenetrable Gang World to  
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Sarah Yousuf

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**CeaseFire: Breaking Through the Impenetrable Gang**  
**World to Eradicate Violence**

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University of Cape Town

**CeaseFire: Breaking Through the Impenetrable Gang World to Eradicate  
Violence**

**Chapter 1: Viewing Gang Violence Through a Different Lens**

Gang violence is a pervasive issue that adversely affects urban populations such as Cape Town. Though such violence is rooted in poor inner-city slums, its effects are far-reaching, with violence spilling over into other realms of society. Gang violence tears apart families and leaves communities to live in constant fear and intimidation of gangs.<sup>1</sup> Numerous violence prevention initiatives have been developed throughout the decades to combat gangsterism and gang violence, yet no long-lasting strategy has been achieved thus far.<sup>2</sup> Various explanations have been put forth as to why these programs are ultimately unsustainable, yet the same types of programs continuously re-emerge, only to be shut down because they have no appreciable effect on gang violence. Over the decades, a pattern of violence and violence prevention has developed. Typically, a spate of killings related to gang warfare occurs, the community's outcry leads to a short-term solution and the problem is temporarily abated. Within months, however, violence erupts yet again.

This failed pattern repeats itself because the response to gang violence revolves around two core principles – the community must become more active and involved with curbing gang violence, and law enforcement must be tougher on policing and apprehending the offenders.<sup>3</sup> Absent from these solutions is the very source of the problem itself, fully engaging gangsters in a long-term solution to end the violence. Short-term solutions involve gang members in a very limited way, and only after a particularly notorious incident of gang violence has already occurred. For example, gang members have been repeatedly called upon to enter into conflict mediation and peace pacts so as to end gang warfare. As a result of these pacts, violence temporarily desists for a few months. However, no other support systems are put into place to ensure that the peace continues, and ultimately, violence breaks out again. Gang members have also been approached to engage in other pursuits

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<sup>1</sup>Megan Sweas, "Under the Gun: How Violence Takes Its Toll on Our Kids." (*U.S. Catholic* 74.7 2009)

<sup>2</sup>Teddi Dineley Johnson, "Chicago Program Applies Public Health Principles to Street Violence." (*Nation's Health*. 39.3 2009).

<sup>3</sup>For an example of tough police tactics, See Roger Friedman, and Joesph Aranes, "Police use 'Chicago' tactics to bust Cape Flats Gangs." *Cape Argus* 13 May 1994.

besides gang activity, such as becoming involved in local football teams. Again, such solutions are merely hasty and immediate answers that avoid the more deeply-rooted and complex issues that these young adults face on a day-to-day basis.<sup>4</sup> Playing football for a few hours does not address the problem of broken homes, drug addiction, and the trauma that comes with living in a violent culture.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, the community sees any sort of engagement with gangs as a last resort to stopping crime and no attempts are made to have gang members reintegrate into society. Rather, the problem is seen as a war between gangs and the community.

The other traditional solution, besides community involvement, is tougher law enforcement. However, the lack of manpower and resources available to the police, compounded with the fact that the police are viewed with suspicion in the Cape Flats, makes more effective law enforcement also difficult to sustain.<sup>6</sup> Frustrated with the inappropriate response to gang violence by the police, communities have resorted to taking the law into their own hands, with organisations such as PAGAD forming. However, having organisations carry out their own form of vigilante justice can be dangerous.<sup>7</sup> These organisations have been known to respond to gang violence by attacking gang members themselves, and the consequence has been that violence continued unabated.

Such previous tactics focus on the notion that gangsters are thugs or skollies, who are condemned to a life of delinquency and violence. The tendency has been to pit the community against gangsters, and if gangs were to be a part of any solution, it must be with their minimal involvement. However, gang members need much more support by the community if gang violence is to be reduced. What is needed is a holistic community approach that centres around and actively includes gang members.<sup>8</sup> Rather than just dealing with gangsters in a minimal fashion, it is

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<sup>4</sup>Wilfried Schärf, "The Resurgence of Urban Street Gangs and Community Responses in Cape Town During the Late Eighties." Towards Justice? Crime and State Control in South Africa. Ed. Desiree Hansson and Dirk Van Zyl Smit. (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1990) 249.

<sup>5</sup> Sweas 15.

<sup>6</sup>The media has consistently called for more law enforcement. See Johnson and Bateman's article, 'Gangsterism in Townships at 'All-Time High' in the *Cape Argus* as an example.

<sup>7</sup> Andre Standing, Organised Crime: A Study From the Cape Flats. (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2006) 268.

<sup>8</sup> Sweas 16.

necessary to engage them and motivate them to change themselves. CeaseFire<sup>9</sup> is one such program that looks at gangsters in this light and is ground-breaking in its work. This paper evaluates the CeaseFire model within the context of the South African community that it operates in, Hanover Park. The CeaseFire model can work, because any community approach to addressing gang violence must include reaching out to gang members themselves. However, as the model itself affirms, this approach can only work within the context of an integrated community response.

I begin this paper by establishing and explaining the CeaseFire model. I discuss the features that make it unique to other violence prevention initiatives, and ultimately, why the model can be a successful, sustainable approach to the gang violence issue in Cape Town. I further trace the origination of the model to its roots in Chicago. I argue that Chicago shares similar issues with Cape Town in regards to gang violence, which is why incorporating the model in Hanover Park can yield similar and successful results. In fact, many of the gangs in Chicago are comprised primarily of certain races, blacks and Latinos. Likewise, Cape Town's gangs are comprised of coloureds. Both cities incarcerate large amounts of gang members and have spent significant resources combating gang violence. Cape Town is therefore an ideal candidate for adopting a program that has been proven successful at battling violence in Chicago. I will next discuss how CeaseFire is implemented in Cape Town, within the township of Hanover Park, and the differences between Chicago and Hanover Park that must be taken into account when tailoring the program to the needs of the community.

Because CeaseFire emphasizes the importance of adapting the model to the community that it serves, an examination of how gangs developed in Hanover Park must be taken into consideration. Only by viewing Hanover Park's history can the model successfully incorporate cultural and societal norms specific to that area. In addition to Hanover Park's history, unique factors that have led to gang violence within Hanover Park must also be taken into account by the community's CeaseFire

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<sup>9</sup>The program changed its name from CeaseFire to Cure Violence in 2012, however, many local organisations still refer to the program as CeaseFire. To avoid confusion, this paper will refer to the program by its former name, CeaseFire.



program. One such notable factor is the influence of prison gang culture. While it is common for gangsters in both Chicago and Hanover Park to have served time in prison, Cape Town gangsters are much more likely to be recruited into a prison gang. These gangs carry an elite status and reputation on the streets and are an important issue that CeaseFire Hanover Park must address when dealing with gang violence.<sup>10</sup> Finally, in order for CeaseFire Hanover Park to be successful, it must work with other external organisations, and I examine possible cooperating organisations. I conclude by addressing the prospects for CeaseFire Hanover Park and make recommendations as to the course that it should follow in order to continue to be sustainable.

### ***1A: Limitations***

The scope of this paper was limited to articles, studies, and research that have already been conducted on the Ceasefire model. No interviews with programme participants or community partners were included in this body of work. However, in order to facilitate further discussion on the topic of Ceasefire as an effective violence prevention model, it is necessary to gain the first-hand insight that programme participants and affiliates have. Only by engaging in such dialogue will a more complete picture of the Ceasefire model in Hanover Park be obtained.

Further, limited studies exist which focus on violence-reduction rates that are attributable to Ceasefire. This is due to a variety of factors, including the nature of defining success. Merely looking at declining numbers of violence and homicide within a given area do not portray the full effects of the programme. Therefore, additional studies on Ceasefire's success rates within Chicago must be undertaken, and are beyond the focus of this paper.

## **Chapter 2: Establishing the Model**

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<sup>10</sup> Yashar Taheri-Keramati. "South African Violence: Looking Further than the Government's Explanation." ([Nebula](#) 8.1 2011).

The CeaseFire model has been successful in cities such as Chicago not only because it focuses on involving gang members in the process of combating violence, but also because it looks at the issue of gangsterism in a whole new light. The CeaseFire model differentiates itself from other violence prevention methods by examining the gang violence issue from a public health perspective.<sup>11</sup> Instead of depicting gang violence as a problem that is brought on by gangsters against innocent community members, and thereby targeting gang members, CeaseFire refocuses the problem back onto gang violence itself.<sup>12</sup> Gang violence is viewed as a disease.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, any successful model to combat the disease will focus on disease control and eradication.<sup>14</sup> This notion is central to CeaseFire's mission, which states that CeaseFire is founded upon reversing the spread of violence by using strategies associated with disease control, such as detection and interruption, identifying individuals involved in transmission, and changing social norms of the communities where it occurs.<sup>15</sup>

Under this approach, certain gang members are seen as most likely to cause an event that is infectious, which then further transmits the disease of violence to other gang members.<sup>16</sup> If one gang member shoots a rival gang member, then this action elicits a response from the rival gang and someone else will shoot in retaliation. The result is gang warfare. CeaseFire identifies the potential infectious agents – or influential gangsters – and works on changing their behavioural and social norms, so as to curb any risk of infection.<sup>17</sup> Oftentimes, these norms are related to the environmental conditions that gangsters find themselves in.

By looking at gang violence as a disease, the model takes the blame away from gangsters themselves. It does not vilify gangsters; rather, it places them as central figures in the fight against gang violence.<sup>18</sup> Gang members are merely the carriers for the real evil – crime and violence. Violence is categorized with diseases

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<sup>11</sup> Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>12</sup> "Violence Interruption." *Cure Violence*. n.d.

<sup>13</sup> Page, Clarence. "A Virus of Violence." (*Caribbean Business*, 40.6 2012).

<sup>14</sup> Page 20.

<sup>15</sup> *Cure Violence*

<sup>16</sup> Page 20.

<sup>17</sup> World Health Organisation, *Violence Prevention: The Evidence*. (Geneva: WHO Press, 2010)

<sup>18</sup> J.M. Tyree. "Hope and Fear in *The Interrupters*." (*Film Quarterly*, 65.2 2011)

such as HIV, tuberculosis, and other contagious diseases.<sup>19</sup> These ‘evils’ are not embodied in one group of people; they are social issues unto themselves that must be dealt with by the entire community in order to be eradicated.<sup>20</sup> Public health workers relied on various methods to engage the community in addressing these types of diseases and to become aware of the causes of infection.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, in order to combat the disease of violence, specialized workers and tools must be used to address the community. Under the CeaseFire model, these workers come in the form of outreach workers and violence interrupters.<sup>22</sup> As the CeaseFire paradigm recognizes, no real solution to gang violence can occur without the aid of gangsters themselves. By removing the negative connotation that being a gangster means that one is automatically a ‘skollie,’ CeaseFire attempts to empower gangsters and make them a part of the solution to end violence. Furthermore, gang members figure prominently in the model’s framework, which is comprised of five major components - youth outreach, community mobilization, public awareness, faith based leader involvement, and criminal justice participation.<sup>23</sup> Recognizing the fact that gang members are the ‘carriers’ of violence, CeaseFire employs both outreach workers and violence interrupters to work with high-risk gang members so as to ‘interrupt the transmission of violence’.<sup>24</sup>

Critics of CeaseFire argue that such a model cannot be incorporated from one city to another, as each city has its own specific gang issues and gang culture, and no ‘cookie-cutter’ model can be implemented universally.<sup>25</sup> Yet the model recognizes the importance of adapting itself to each of the cities that it is involved in.<sup>26</sup> Though there is one central headquarters for all the CeaseFire sites throughout the world, each community that adopts the model is responsible for tailoring it to meet their

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<sup>19</sup> Allison B. Dymnicki, David Henry, Elena Quintana, Elise Wisnieski, Candice Kane. “Outreach Workers’ Perceptions of Positive and Negative Critical Incidents: Characteristics Associated with Successful and Unsuccessful Violence Interruption.” (*Journal of Community Psychology*, 41.2 2013).

<sup>20</sup> Sweas 16.

<sup>21</sup> Page 20.

<sup>22</sup> Wesley G. Skogan et. al., *Evaluation of CeaseFire-Chicago*. (n.p. 19 March 2009) 1-3.

<sup>23</sup> Daniel W. Webster et. al. *Evaluation of Baltimore’s SafeStreets Program: Effects on Attitudes, Participants’ Experience, Gun Violence*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, 2012) 6.

<sup>24</sup> Cure Violence

<sup>25</sup> Irvin Kinnes, “Chicago to Cape Flats is a Long Shot.” *Cape Argus* 08 January 2011.

<sup>26</sup> Cooper and Ward also advocate tailoring intervention models to each individual community. See “Intervening with Youths in Gangs” in *Youth Violence: Sources and Solutions in South Africa*, (Claremont: UCT Press, 2012) 265.

community's needs. The headquarters then acts as a guide and source of support for these branches. Specifically, CeaseFire's main overseeing headquarters is located at the University of Illinois in Chicago's School of Public Health.<sup>27</sup> At the University of Illinois site, the program is administered through the Chicago Project for Violence Prevention – or CPVP. CPVP is responsible for a wide variety of duties, including developing and implementing the program, training local sites, and coordinating national public education campaigns. As part of its implementation role, CPVP decides which community organisations will host the program within their community, in order to ensure that the community will run a successful CeaseFire program on its own.

Once a local site has been selected, CPVP steps back and serves as a support and monitoring system for the local site. The aim is to keep the model as organic to the community as possible.<sup>28</sup> The initial involvement of CPVP is meant to help the local organisation set up its own CeaseFire program. CPVP also ensures that no more than one site is established in any given community, so as to avoid duplicating services. CPVP further decides which community has the most amount of need for the program. This need is primarily based on the level of gang activity and violence that occurs.<sup>29</sup> However, the model can only work if a local community organisation has the ability to also implement the program, as well. Often, the local organisation will have limited resources and staffs that are also needed to serve the organisation's own needs. Because the local site must be able to take the CeaseFire model and apply it on its own, CPVP evaluates whether the local organisation has the appropriate amount of capacity to additionally manage a CeaseFire program.<sup>30</sup>

### ***2A: The Pillars of the Model***

CeaseFire is based on five main pillars: community mobilisation, youth outreach, public education, faith-based leader involvement, and criminal justice participation. Each of these pillars is designed to incorporate the community as a whole to address gang violence.<sup>31</sup> This includes integrating gang members back into

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<sup>27</sup>Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>28</sup> Skogan 2-5.

<sup>29</sup>Skogan 2-18.

<sup>30</sup>Skogan 2-2.

<sup>31</sup>Cure Violence.

society to combat violence. Under traditional violence prevention initiatives, gangsters themselves were seen to be at odds with the community, and were therefore never an integral part to any solution.<sup>32</sup> CeaseFire is distinguishable from these traditional approaches because it recognizes that gang members, as carriers of the disease, need to have an adequate support system in place so as to stop the transmission of violence.<sup>33</sup> Gang members are fighting the same battle as the community, and they must be included in a sustainable violence prevention initiative.

Part of the support system implemented by CeaseFire involves assigning outreach workers to extremely high-risk gang members. These gang members are chosen due to how many high-risk criteria they meet. The criteria include whether or not the gang member has been to jail, whether he is in school, and whether he owns a firearm. Instead of isolating such individuals, CeaseFire chooses to fully engage with them.<sup>34</sup> An outreach worker is given the responsibility to meet with these gang members regularly and link them with services that they might need, such as counselling, rehabilitation services, or anger management classes. In addition, outreach workers provide gang members daily support in finding alternatives to using violence.<sup>35</sup> For example, many gang members are unemployed and are not in school, and therefore do not have structure in their lives. Outreach workers assist gang members with job applications and transportation to and from job interviews, as well as enrolling them in classes.<sup>36</sup> The use of such workers stands in stark contrast to various violence prevention efforts that do not address the underlying issues which face inner-city youth today, such as lack of opportunities, alcohol and substance addictions, and family issues. Moreover, workers are a much needed source of support to gang members, and can help facilitate their clients to make positive choices that do not revolve around crime.

Violence interrupters are an additional needed support to gangsters and are another distinguishing feature of the model. Interrupters function as conflict

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<sup>32</sup> Tyree 34.

<sup>33</sup> Sweas 16.

<sup>34</sup> Sarah Picard-Fritsche, et. al. Testing a Public Health Approach to Gun Violence. (Brooklyn: centre for Court Innovation, 2010) 12.

<sup>35</sup> Dymnicki 203.

<sup>36</sup> Webster 4.

mediators and crisis workers.<sup>37</sup> In contrast to outreach workers, interrupters do not work on a 9 to 5 schedule and rather respond to potential conflict situations as needed.<sup>38</sup> Because of their more flexible schedules, interrupters can respond to situations quickly and work to diffuse a situation before it becomes out of control. Though they are not law enforcement, they serve a vital community need by working to quell a possibly violent situation, without having to first call the police. Moreover, violence interrupters are often reformed gang members themselves, and gang members are more likely to trust and listen to them because of their shared experiences with gang culture.<sup>39</sup>

Getting gang members the assistance they need is just one step in creating a holistic approach to addressing violence. The other major player in the CeaseFire model is the entire community itself. Without community mobilization, the program cannot be successful.<sup>40</sup> CeaseFire recognizes that no long-term approach to eradicating gang violence can occur if the community does not have an active role in the process.<sup>41</sup> CeaseFire advocates specific ways of incorporating the community in responses to gang violence. Most notably, when a gang shooting occurs, a prayer vigil and a rally are to be held within 72 hours of the event. The rally and vigil are open to everyone, including gang members, and various community residents are invited to speak.<sup>42</sup> The rallies are held in open spaces, and the idea is that gang members who have partaken or are thinking of partaking in violence will realize the effect that violence has on the community.<sup>43</sup> Holding such rallies is crucial to the community, as violence inspires a whole gamut of emotions to become unleashed, ranging from fear to anger.<sup>44</sup> The community feels intimidation and threat at the prospect of retaliatory shootings, where potentially innocent bystanders can become harmed. Simultaneously, community members desire that the perpetrators of

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<sup>37</sup> Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>38</sup> Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>39</sup> Picard-Fritsche 2.

<sup>40</sup> Sweas 16.

<sup>41</sup> Cure Violence.

<sup>42</sup> Skogan 1-6.

<sup>43</sup> Andrew Papachristos, "Too Big to Fail: The Science and Politics of Violence Prevention:" (*Criminology & Public Policy*, 10.4 2011).

<sup>44</sup> M. Seedat, R. McClure, S. Suffla, A. van Niekerk. "Developing the Evidence-Base for Safe Communities: A Multi-Level, Partly Randomized, Controlled Trial" (*International Journal of Injury Control and Safety Promotion*, 19:3 2012).

violence be brought to justice, whether it is by the police or some other form of law enforcement.<sup>45</sup> By giving the community a platform to speak out against violence, CeaseFire also allows community members to channel their anger and grief over the crimes that occur within the neighbourhood, without having to resort to violence against the perceived cause of the harm.

The model demonstrates the importance of providing a space for people to voice their emotions. It incorporates these emotions into a catalyst, where the community response can transform into a source of hope for stopping future violence. This hope leads to mobilization, where community members can decide how they can play a role to stop violence and how they can work with together.<sup>46</sup> Unlike past violence prevention programs, however, CeaseFire does not rely solely on the community outcry or on a particular bloody instance of gang warfare that has garnered media attention. Rather, CeaseFire continuously engages in conflict mediations and supports gang members who want to reform, regardless of whether the community calls for action. By holding prayer vigils and rallies, CeaseFire has found a unique way to incorporate the community into its own mission.

Community mobilization also entails public awareness. In accordance with the idea that violence itself is the root of the problem, the model holds that, like other communicable diseases, violence cannot be controlled without knowledge of the disease.<sup>47</sup> Through public education, CeaseFire attempts to alter the public's perception of gang members as skollies, and instead tries to reshape the discussion around violence as a curable disease. CeaseFire engages its employees to go door-to-door to distribute flyers regarding the statistics of shootings and what can be done to stop the violence. A massive media campaign is also part of this strategy, where various media outlets are contacted to attend prayer vigils and community events.<sup>48</sup> In order to grab public attention, the model utilizes catchy slogans and pictures, as well. In Chicago, for example, the most popular slogan is simply the words, 'Don't Shoot: I want to grow up.' A picture of a young, sad black boy in front of a solid

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<sup>45</sup>Daniel W. Webster, Jennifer Mendel Whitehill, Jon S. Vernick, and Frank C. Curriero. "Effects of Baltimore's Safe Streets Program on Gun Violence: A Replication of Chicago's CeaseFire Program." (*Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 90.1 2012).

<sup>46</sup>Skogan 1-10.

<sup>47</sup>Cure Violence.

<sup>48</sup>Papachristos 1056.

black background is displayed underneath those words.<sup>49</sup> The advertisements display the contact number and website for CeaseFire, and these advertisements are then printed on banners, flyers, stickers, and posted throughout the community. Such marketing strategies serve a dual role, they inform the community and the public-at-large that CeaseFire is a violence prevention initiative that can be utilized, and they also inform gang members that they can get help and play a role in breaking the pattern of violence. It is important to note that these campaigns do not attack gangsters. Slogans such as “don’t shoot” are meant to be seen as an appeal, and are meant to help gang members realize that their actions affect a very vulnerable part of their community. An emphasis is constantly placed on making sure that gang members are seen as part of the solution to the problem. They themselves have to be engaged in the process of eradicating violence, and the media campaign is designed to invite them to the table.

Despite media campaigns and violence-response events, programs such as CeaseFire cannot successfully engage the community without also obtaining the assistance of prominent leaders within the area. Reaching out to community leaders is also another way to bridge the divide between gangsters and the community. Community leaders can take various forms, but consistently, these leaders are found in the churches, mosques, and synagogues within the neighbourhood.<sup>50</sup> Though CeaseFire is non-denominational, it recognizes the impact that faith-based leaders have on shaping change.<sup>51</sup> In addition to being well-respected in the community, faith-based leaders also serve as vital guides for gang members looking to make a change in their own lives.<sup>52</sup> Many other sustainable forms of interventions have also utilized this branch of the community. A famous example of this is Alcoholics Anonymous, where several of the tenets of its 12-step program incorporate God and faith into achieving and maintaining sobriety.<sup>53</sup> Faith-based leaders provide guidance and affirmation that there is a higher power and many gang members who are trying to reform rely on this higher power to help them through their struggles.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Cure Violence.

<sup>50</sup> Cure Violence.

<sup>51</sup> Sweas 16.

<sup>52</sup> Sweas 16.

<sup>53</sup> “12 Steps and 12 Traditions.” *Alcoholics Anonymous*. n.p., n.d.

<sup>54</sup> Sweas 16.



Churches and mosques also are very active in their neighbourhoods, with various religious groups organizing community events and fund-raisers to increase membership and foster community unity. While community members may not be involved in any other type of organisation, most are affiliated with their neighbourhood religious institution. By including faith-based leader involvement as one of its core components, CeaseFire reaffirms the importance of providing a holistic approach to curing violence.<sup>55</sup> CeaseFire promotes sponsoring joint community-wide events with religious institutions, and encourages inviting faith-based leaders to speak out at peace rallies.<sup>56</sup> More importantly, the gang members that CeaseFire works with commonly need additional sources of support to help them make positive changes, and God is an integral part to their change.<sup>57</sup> To those clients who speak of the need for a higher power in their lives, outreach workers encourage them to seek out the guidance of faith-based leaders.<sup>58</sup> By incorporating faith-based leaders into the process of curing violence, the model further unites the community to tackle the problem of gang violence, thereby creating a more sustainable violence prevention initiative.<sup>59</sup>

The final aspect of the model entails utilizing the criminal justice system. Despite the fact that the criminal justice system's participation is crucial to creating a holistic violence prevention approach, this component is, arguably, the source of the most tension.<sup>60</sup> CeaseFire staff must balance the needs of their clients against the partnership with the police and local prosecutors. Because CeaseFire is not anti-gang, it does not actively try to dissuade clients from partaking in gang activities, even activities that may be illegal, such as using drugs. Staff instead try to exert a positive and non-judgmental influence on clients, in the hope that the gang members themselves will realize that they must make smarter choices.<sup>61</sup> However, this stance puts the model at odds with the aims of police and prosecutors, who are meant to uphold the law, and who look to the community to aid them in this objective. Critics of the model argue that, by being aware of the illegal activities that gang members

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<sup>55</sup>Sweas 16.

<sup>56</sup> Skogan 1-10.

<sup>57</sup> Sweas 16.

<sup>58</sup>Sweas 17.

<sup>59</sup>M. Seedat, 232.

<sup>60</sup> Irvin Kinnes. "Contesting Police Governance: Respect Authority and Belonging in Organised Violent Gangs in Cape Town." (*Acta Criminologica*, 2:1 2012).

<sup>61</sup>Skogan 4-2.

are involved in, they are merely adding to the problem of crime and violence. Further, violence interrupters and outreach workers are also aware of possible ‘hits’ on other gang members.<sup>62</sup> By withholding this knowledge, CeaseFire workers are putting people’s lives in jeopardy, with the possibility that these targeted individuals can get severely injured or killed.

What critics fail to see, however, is that CeaseFire workers have access to this information because they are trusted by the gangs.<sup>63</sup> Gangs understand that CeaseFire is not trying to break up gang structure, and that the workers are meant as a support to help end the violence on the streets.<sup>64</sup> To divulge the information that is shared to CeaseFire staff is to betray the trust that these gangsters have given them. Also, without this information, staff would not know of potential incidents that could result in violence, or who could be targeted in a retaliation shooting. It is also important to note that staff do not passively sit by and ignore the information that is given to them. They are constantly working to have youth make healthy, positive choices. Another problematic aspect of working with the police is the need to protect the confidentiality of gang members who are clients. Though CeaseFire does not have to voluntarily divulge information to the police, the prosecution still has the power to subpoena them for trials and the police can obtain records using proper warrants.<sup>65</sup> No easy answer is given regarding how to protect the interests of their clients and simultaneously uphold justice, yet it is imperative that the trust that is fostered between CeaseFire and its clients must not be readily divulged.

Associating with the police may bring about such tension, yet it also helps create respect between the two entities. By opening lines of communication with the police and viewing them as a partner in promoting peace, CeaseFire can help law enforcement understand how the model is meant to reduce the amount of crime and violence in the community, not enhance it. CeaseFire can also be used by authorities in order to help gang members understand law enforcement’s role in supporting the community and reducing violence. The police can additionally utilize its ties with CeaseFire to engage in potentially violent situations that they themselves may be unable to enter. The police lack the resources and are bound by

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<sup>62</sup>Skogan 3-2.

<sup>63</sup>Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>64</sup> Cure Violence.

<sup>65</sup>Skogan 1-15.

bureaucratic tape that can prevent them from penetrating gang culture.<sup>66</sup> Their perception within gangs also prevents them from obtaining knowledge about shootings. Because violence interrupters and outreach workers are former ex-gang members, they have no such limitations on entering gang life and ultimately preventing volatile situations. CeaseFire benefits from partnering with the police because it adds legitimacy to the organisation within the community. Community members who worry that the organisation is no more than a gang-led association will be reassured if they see that the police endorse CeaseFire. CeaseFire can also take advantage of any ties that it makes with law enforcement by inviting prosecutors and officers to come and speak to gang members at community events. By placing the two traditionally hostile parties into a neutral setting, gangsters can better understand the role that the criminal justice system has in stopping violence and how this role does not necessarily entail disbanding gangs.

CeaseFire further demonstrates its commitment to utilizing different tactics towards violence in the manner that they gather data and monitor gang violence. One of its central tenets is to approach the violence epidemic scientifically, and to obtain data on where the most amount of violence occurs and who perpetrates such violence.<sup>67</sup> As such, the model is evidence-based, and shows trends regarding the spread of violence. By treating violence in a scientific manner, data and evidence can be accumulated and compared throughout neighbourhoods where the program is implemented and between different reporting periods.<sup>68</sup> Traditional violence prevention programs do not utilize data in a similar manner and rather emerge due to public outcry against gang violence. Such an emotional response also leads to hurried tactics, where the immediate desire is to satisfy the community's need for justice. Once the immediate emotional response subsides, the need for a sustainable prevention initiative also dwindles, until the next violent outbreak occurs. By documenting and observing violent incidents, CeaseFire accumulates information that can be used to ensure that the model adapts to evolving trends and patterns, thereby increasing the likelihood of having a sustainable violence prevention model.

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<sup>66</sup> Kinnes. "Contesting Police Governance: Respect Authority and Belonging in Organised Violent Gangs in Cape Town" 40.

<sup>67</sup> Sweas 16.

<sup>68</sup> Papachristos 1056.

## ***2B: Hiring the Ideal Interrupter to Access Gang Culture***

The five pillars of CeaseFire all play a vital part in the strategy to cure violence, yet enough cannot be said about the use of interrupters as part of the model and how it distinguishes CeaseFire from other initiatives. Interrupters serve as the vital link between the community and gangs.<sup>69</sup> Because of their status in society, gangs were often viewed as impenetrable. To understand why gangs are so difficult to work with, one must examine why young men join gangs in the first place. The topic has long been a source of debate amongst criminologists. One common point that is consistently raised is that such youth lack any positive role models to guide them through adolescence and young adulthood.<sup>70</sup> This time of life is pivotal because it signals the change from boyhood to manhood. Scholars such as Pinnock argue that young men need a symbolic rite of passage to show that they have successfully transitioned into this next chapter of their life.<sup>71</sup> Strong male figures would often serve as the guides on this journey, explaining to the younger boys their responsibilities and roles when becoming men within their community. In the African bush, for example, male members of various tribes would take the male youth into the wild for weeks and, while there, teach them the rites of their people. What occurred in the bush was kept secret from the rest of the tribe, but when the young men came back, they were deemed ready to be accepted as men.<sup>72</sup>

In contrast, gang members often come from broken homes, where no father figure or strong male authority is present. As a result, they rely on their peers to form rites of passage and rituals.<sup>73</sup> However, because these peers have no knowledge or experience themselves, the rites are moulded around misguided perceptions of what it is to be a man.<sup>74</sup> Those who have not gone through the initiation that gang members undergo can have no say as to what is considered as acceptable adult male behaviour.<sup>75</sup> In order to gain the respect of gang members, one must have endured the same rituals and rites of passage. Therefore, in order for CeaseFire to be successful, it relies on reformed gang members who have earned the

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<sup>69</sup> Picard-Fritsche 2.

<sup>70</sup> Sweas 16.

<sup>71</sup> Don Pinnock, *Gangs, Rituals, & Rites of Passage*. (Cape Town: African Sun Press, 1997) 14.

<sup>72</sup> Pinnock, *Gangs, Rituals & Rites of Passage* 20.

<sup>73</sup> Sweas 15.

<sup>74</sup> Pinnock, *Gangs, Rituals & Rites of Passage* 28.

<sup>75</sup> Sweas 15.

respect of gang members, and whose advice will be heeded. Interrupters must be able to command this respect in the gangs; otherwise, they cannot persuade gang members to make healthy life choices and to ultimately avoid violence. Workers will also be unable to have access to sensitive information, as well, such as when a potential violent conflict will occur, and who has a hit on whom. The only way to gain such respect, then, is to have endured the same rites of passage and experiences that the current gang members have undergone.

Thus, the program tends to hire former gang members themselves for the interrupter and outreach worker positions. The interrupters must promise that they are no longer involved in any sort of gang activity, but they must have the knowledge and awareness of gang life. In addition, not just any former gang member will suffice; the former gangster must have a respected reputation on the streets.<sup>76</sup> In order to discern who has earned the respect of the gangs, gang members themselves have input on who will become an interrupter. Gang members are not the sole decider as to who becomes an interrupter, however. The model advocates the use of a panel to discern appropriate candidates for the violence interrupter position, as well. The panel is comprised of CeaseFire staff, members of other community organisations, faith-based leaders, and a police representative.<sup>77</sup> The panel asks questions relating to how comfortable candidates will be with engaging gang members and with mediating conflicts. Ultimately, with the input of the gangs on the street, the panel has to determine how street-savvy the candidate is.

Once selected, the violence interrupters serve as crucial figures towards helping gang members reshape their ways of thinking. Because the vast majority of interrupters have been gang members themselves at one time, they understand the rituals and the way of life that young gangsters embrace. The interrupters have earned the respect of gang members and are thus more likely able to persuade gangsters to change their life around.<sup>78</sup> They can fill the void that is left by a lack of a supportive male figure. CeaseFire distinguishes itself from other violence

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<sup>76</sup> Skogan 3-1.

<sup>77</sup> Picard-Fritsche 5.

<sup>78</sup> To see the effects of interrupters on their clients, watch the documentary *The Interrupters*. Dir. Steve James. (Kartemquin, 2011).

prevention programs because it recognizes this huge need for positive male role models within the gang community and actively fills it with interrupters.

It is important to note that the model recognizes that an interrupter's street credibility must be balanced against the need for respect in the community. Though the program emphasizes the use of reformed gangsters, there can be no conclusive way to discern whether a person is truly reformed or not. Therefore, the model relies on what is said on the streets regarding the candidate's reputation.<sup>79</sup> If there are any hints that an interrupter is still involved in gang life, the program itself can be jeopardized. CeaseFire again demonstrates that any successful violence prevention model must rely on the input of the community, both by gang members and non-gang members.<sup>80</sup> Only with the community's involvement can the issue of violence be treated holistically and eventually be eradicated.

The greatest strength of the program is also one of its greatest weaknesses. Though interrupters are reformed, because they are constantly immersed in gang culture and interact with people who are involved in criminal behaviour, the danger to fall back into old habits is great. Further, the gang culture they deal with is often times the very gang culture they grew up in themselves, as interrupters are usually from the same community that they serve. They regularly come across old friends who shared the same violent past and who have chosen to continue to live a life of violence. In addition, the constant pressure of having to mediate conflict and serve as a positive model for others can be overwhelming, making the possibility of returning to one's old lifestyle all the more attractive. Yet relapsing affects CeaseFire's reputation, as well. The constant question that arises is whether a program can truly be effective if it is run by gang members who are in danger of falling back into their old habits. The simple answer is yes. Though there is a danger that some interrupters may relapse, the overall positive effect they have on a previously unreachable part of the community vastly outweighs any potential risks. Those who do go back to their former lifestyle – or never actually leave it – can be replaced by other successfully reformed gang members. Becoming an interrupter also gives hope to gang members who struggle to change their own lives. Gang members need the inspiration from their male role models, these reformed gangsters

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<sup>79</sup> Skogan 3-4.

<sup>80</sup> Sweas 16.

who once were considered street-corner thugs and who have now managed to change their lives and serve their community.<sup>81</sup> Not only do they give back to their community, but they are paid for the work they do and after rejecting gang-life, they become part of a new group – a group that works to end violence and better the community.

### ***2C: The Universal Nature of the Beast***

In order to critically evaluate CeaseFire, we need to understand the nature of the problem that it is trying to address. Violence, and specifically gang violence, is a universal issue that affects entire communities. The violent acts that gangs partake in leave communities feeling helpless and intimidated. Further, the lives that are lost as a result of this violence are grieved by the community, as well. Gang violence shares similar traits throughout the world, no matter how developed the country or how diverse the cultures.<sup>82</sup> Typically, gangs form in impoverished areas and are developed from more marginalized classes<sup>83</sup>. Gangs commonly partake in illegal activities, such as selling drugs and firearms, and they often are very territorial. Turf wars are common, where one gang attempts to establish dominance over another by taking over their turf. These traits are prevalent in both the gang cultures within Chicago and Cape Town.<sup>84</sup> A closer look at the gang cultures in both cities reveals just how common the problem is.

Chicago has long been overrun by gangs, with an estimated 60 gangs in existence. These gangs are split into over 600 factions. Historically, Chicago gangs were derived from two main opposing gangs, the Folks and the Peoples, and were formed out of a necessity to protect neighbourhoods from outsiders.<sup>85</sup> Today, Chicago police believe that anywhere from 68,000 to 150,000 Chicagoans belong to a gang, making Chicago the city with the most amount of gang members in the nation.<sup>86</sup> The sheer numbers of these gangs have led to fights over territory and

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<sup>81</sup> Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>82</sup> Susan Pillay. "Problematising and the Making of Good and Evil: Gangs and PAGAD." (*Critical Arts*, 6.2 2002).

<sup>83</sup> Cooper 242.

<sup>84</sup> Pillay 51.

<sup>85</sup> Zook. "People & Folks." *Chicago Gangs*. n.p., n.d.

<sup>86</sup> Chuck Sudo. "Interactive Gang Map Paints a Picture of Hypersegregated Chicago, Fractioning Gangs." *News*. (The Chicagoist., 25 Sept. 2012)

gang warfare, which have contributed significantly to the city's astronomical homicide rate. For example, some estimate that roughly 80 per cent of homicides in 2012 were due to gang violence.<sup>87</sup> The desire of each gang to establish control and assert their power manifests itself block by block, where one city block is dominated by one gang and the very next block is dominated by another rival gang. Community members are restricted from moving between blocks lest they get caught in the crossfire.<sup>88</sup> This fear pervades throughout the city as gangs are seen as predators and thugs. Similarly, the gangs within Hanover Park are viewed as terrorizing the community itself. The gangs are divided into two main rival groups that are represented by the American and British flags, respectively, and each group has several factions.<sup>89</sup> The battle over turf has contributed to the significant amount of homicides and shootings within the area, as well. Similar to Chicago, the gang members in Hanover Park come from a historically marginalized section of society, as most gang members are coloured.

Chicago lawmakers have long struggled with introducing an effective violence prevention model. From these past attempts, it is clear that any model must include gang members themselves. Gang life is pervasive throughout the city, and roughly 45 per cent of individuals who are arrested report that they are or have been in a gang.<sup>90</sup> Without incorporating gangs into the solution to eradicate violence, no long-lasting initiative can prevail. The model that CeaseFire adopts makes it the ideal candidate for spearheading a campaign against gang violence. CeaseFire focuses on providing support services to high-risk gang members, and brings them together with the rest of the community to cure the disease of violence. The program recognizes that gang members cannot be vilified as the source of crime. Rather, the focus is on violence as the evil which must be eradicated by utilizing the

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<sup>87</sup> Kelleher, James B., and Jonathan Allen. "A Tale of Two Cities: Chicago Murder Rates Spikes, New York Falls." *Reuters* 28 Dec. 2012. The spike in homicides was unusual, as Chicago had been experiencing a decline in homicides for the prior several years.

<sup>88</sup> Sweas 14.

<sup>89</sup> Astrid Von Brucken, *CeaseFire (CURE Violence) – Hanover Park Pilot Project*. (Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading – City of Cape Town, 2012) 12

<sup>90</sup> City of Chicago. *National Forum on Youth Violence Prevention*. 10.



efforts of the entire community.<sup>91</sup> As shown below, the employment of CeaseFire in Chicago has proven to be successful.

### ***2D: Finding Success by Engaging with 'High-Risk' Youth***

Analysing the success rates for a violence prevention program such as CeaseFire can be complicated, since the program's effectiveness must be isolated against other possible factors that cause a decline. Other indicators of declines in violence include citywide efforts to reduce violence, stricter law enforcement in high-crime areas, and other violence prevention initiatives that are launched in the same neighbourhood. In addition, simply looking at the reductions in gang-related shootings will not give an adequate indication of how successful the program is.<sup>92</sup> On a more individual level, it is necessary to gauge the impact that the program has on the clients. When assessing such success, one must ask if the clients are able to make better life choices as a result of the support from CeaseFire. Success can also be measured by how well an outreach worker can link up a client to needed services, such as job readiness programs and anger management classes.<sup>93</sup> Another key indicator of success is the impact that CeaseFire has on its own staff, as many of these employees were former gang members and ex-convicts themselves. Did the program help former gang members maintain their commitment to stay away from their former lifestyle? What were the motivations for former gang-members to work for CeaseFire? Was it simply the promise of paid employment? Finally, the perception of CeaseFire within the community is another key point that must be examined to determine the model's success. Did the community feel that the program was a positive influence? Was CeaseFire able to work with other community organisations in order to reduce violence? All these factors are relevant to any analysis of whether the program was successful. Studies have been done of the program's impact, and the results demonstrate that CeaseFire is a successful model in multiple aspects.

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<sup>91</sup>Cure Violence.

<sup>92</sup>Papachristos 1060.

<sup>93</sup>Allison B. Dymnicki 203.

Overall, there has been a 41 per cent to 73 per cent drop in shootings and killings in areas where the program has been implemented.<sup>94</sup> While this drop can also be prescribed to other factors in addition to CeaseFire's presence, such as increased police presence and other violence prevention programs in the area, studies point to the fact that there was a 16 per cent to 35 per cent drop in shootings directly attributed to CeaseFire's initiatives.<sup>95</sup> Another statistic that can be used to measure the program's success is the reduction of killings that are considered retaliatory. Retaliatory murders often occur after one member of a gang kills or shoots another member or one his friends or family members. Because retaliations can be anticipated after a shooting, violence interrupters are tasked with mediating the tension that arises and preventing retaliations from occurring. In the sites that were evaluated, there was a 100 per cent reduction in retaliation murders in five of eight neighbourhoods.<sup>96</sup>

In 2007, a study was conducted of the impact that the Chicago CeaseFire program had in the neighbourhoods that implemented the model. Specifically, seven different neighbourhoods were evaluated to see if both actual and attempted shootings decreased in those areas as compared to neighbouring sites. Five out of seven of those neighbourhoods demonstrated a decrease in shootings as a result of CeaseFire interventions, with declines ranging anywhere from 16 to 28 per cent, depending on the location.<sup>97</sup> The areas where CeaseFire was located also grew safer, with less shootings and homicides reported. Further, when examining the statistics for gang-related homicides and shootings, several neighbourhoods where the program was implemented experienced a drop in gang deaths that could be attributable to CeaseFire. The figure is all the more impressive because many CeaseFire sites experienced lay-offs and budget restrictions due to lack of government funding.<sup>98</sup> In fact, a few sites had to close the program altogether due to funding shortages.

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<sup>94</sup>Skogan 7-1.

<sup>95</sup> Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>96</sup>Le Riche, Charis. "Pilot Project Launched to Bring About CeaseFire in Gang-Riddled Hanover Park." *The Big Issue*. 17 Oct. 2011.

<sup>97</sup>Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>98</sup>Skogan 8-14.

In terms of working with other community organisations, CeaseFire recognized the importance of engaging partners to work together to reduce violence. Thus, they sought local community leaders and police officers to serve on hiring panels so that different segments of the community could have input on who was to be hired by the program. Further, many local businesses hung up CeaseFire's posters and flyers in their storefronts to show solidarity with the model's mission. When questioned about the practice of hiring reformed gang members, many community members expressed support, saying that it gave these men an opportunity to make amends with the community.<sup>99</sup> The CeaseFire outreach workers and interrupters also agreed. They believed that CeaseFire was a way to help them atone for the past wrongs they had committed. Particularly, many of these reformed individuals had spent their youth gangbanging within the community that they worked in. By trying to influence young gangsters to take a different path, CeaseFire staff felt they had a greater purpose and believed that their decision to become reformed had been validated.<sup>100</sup> Though having a steady income was an incentive to join the CeaseFire team, many CeaseFire workers welcomed the chance to be employed at all. Often, their criminal backgrounds prevented them from obtaining any suitable, stable employment. What work they did find usually was in the form of menial work, such as kitchen staff or janitorial duties. CeaseFire offered more than just a pay check; it was a chance at making a difference for youth who were embarking on similar paths of life.<sup>101</sup> These gang members also felt the impact of having a caseworker who served as a support. Youth who were identified as clients were mostly high-risk, and they relied heavily on the aid of CeaseFire workers to navigate the streets and make smart decisions. Most importantly, these youth had a guide who would not judge them and understood the realities that they faced on an everyday basis.

On many different levels, CeaseFire's approach has proven to be necessary to any holistic violence prevention strategy. Not only do the number of shootings and killings decline, but the impact on both gang members and the rest of the community is significant, as well. Gang members become more integrated into the community

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<sup>99</sup> Skogan 4-3.

<sup>100</sup> Skogan 4-4.

<sup>101</sup> Skogan 4-4.

and have the chance to change their lives, and community residents no longer view gangsters as thugs. Because of the similarities with Cape Town's gang problem, implementing the program in an area such as Hanover Park can yield comparable results. However, in order to see just how Chicago's program proved to be successful, it is necessary to look deeper into how the model is implemented in Chicago.

### ***2E: Chicago and Hanover Park Hiring Practices***

CeaseFire attributes its success at least in part to the outreach staff and interrupters who work with youth on a day-to-day basis. These youth were once an impenetrable section of the Chicago population, who only associated with individuals who underwent similar rites of passage and who had first-hand knowledge of the world within which they lived. Outreach staff served as the bridge between the community and the gang world, and it was therefore crucial to hire the right person to serve as this link. Thus, a vast majority of outreach workers in Chicago had been gang members themselves, and had also been in jail at some point in their lives.<sup>102</sup> Also, most outreach workers were from the neighbourhood that they worked in. They were therefore familiar with the clients that were served through the local site. In one survey, 60 per cent of workers reported that they knew some of their clients before they had started to work at CeaseFire and the majority of clients in another survey reported that the outreach workers were very connected to the streets<sup>103</sup>. Another feature of outreach workers was the fact that most of them were male. The preference to hiring men was due to the fact that mostly young men belonged to gangs and they needed a positive male figure to help provide them support and guidance.

Though the model emphasizes the hiring of former gang members and street-savvy individuals, it also gives local sites more freedom in how they carry out their hiring process. The model advocates the use of certain safeguards to prevent hiring the wrong candidate, and these safeguards are meant to be a guide for local sites. The safeguards were initially established because the program takes a lot of risk in hiring former gang-members and ex-offenders. The struggles for former gang

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<sup>102</sup> Picard-Fritsche 2.

<sup>103</sup> Teddi Dineley Johnson 8

members to maintain a clean life, away from gang culture and drugs, are well-documented. In fact, part of the process of maintaining a new lifestyle involves encountering relapses along the way. These relapses while being employed at CeaseFire can have a serious impact on the image of the model. Media reports of CeaseFire staff who have been caught on the wrong side of the law can make it appear as if the model is run by gangsters, with no thought of actually ending violence.<sup>104</sup> Further, politicians who oppose government funding of the model can point to such reports to claim that the program does not, in fact, work. Because CeaseFire depends largely on government funding, any negative press can cause the program to shut down.<sup>105</sup>

CeaseFire therefore takes precautions to ensure that any potential new outreach workers and interrupters have truly reformed and stay away from doing drugs and other illegal activities. These precautions vary from the headquarters at the University of Illinois to the local branches and from local organisation to local organisation. As the headquarters is responsible for developing and implementing CeaseFire throughout the world, and thus gets funding from more numerous sources, it employs stricter methods of screening potential employees. For example, the head office at CPVP conducts background checks on all potential candidates.<sup>106</sup> Though they do hire ex-convicts, any candidate who has been convicted of a crime against a woman or child is ineligible to be hired, the concern being that such a candidate would not work well with staff or clients. In addition, any candidate who had a current pending charge was also automatically disqualified from working in the program. In contrast to CPVP's policy, some local branches have stricter guidelines for hiring ex-convicts due to contracts with other government branches, such as the Department of Children and Family Services.<sup>107</sup> Obtaining a background check also could take several weeks, during which time the position is often left open. Needless to say, background checks are viewed by many sites as a bureaucratic hindrance which stalls the process of getting workers out on the streets to deal with violent situations.

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<sup>104</sup> Skogan 3-5.

<sup>105</sup> Papachristos 1053.

<sup>106</sup> Skogan 3-2.

<sup>107</sup> Skogan 3-7.

Another safeguard that has been implemented in different ways by various CeaseFire sites is the use of drug screens. Because of the fear of negative publicity, CeaseFire advocates screening staff for drugs. The use of drug screens is controversial, as various staff members believed that certain drugs, such as marijuana, should not bar a person from working on the streets.<sup>108</sup> Further, CeaseFire's policy of solely focusing on testing outreach workers and interrupters seemed discriminatory and unfair to employees. Thus, in regards to implementation of drug screens in Chicago, again, CPVP and local branches have varying policies. CPVP tested every outreach worker and interrupter on its payroll.<sup>109</sup> However, drug tests on a large scale are costly, especially when testing employees repeatedly throughout their term of employment. Some local organisations staff 200-300 employees, and therefore drug testing on a regular basis is nearly impossible, as a significant portion of the budget would have to be reserved for such screens. Therefore, CPVP allows for drug screens to be done at the local site's discretion.<sup>110</sup> Some sites chose to test every candidate while others relied on a candidate's self-report that they were drug-free.

CeaseFire headquarters imposes a minimum education requirement for its employees as well. Outreach workers and interrupters are required to have obtained a high school diploma or its equivalent. This is to ensure that workers are able to handle the large amounts of paperwork that is associated with the job.<sup>111</sup> Because the model relies on data and evidence to demonstrate that interventions with gang members results in less amounts of violence, interrupters and outreach workers are the driving force in producing that data. They write detailed summaries of their interactions with clients and conflicts, and outreach workers helps their clients write treatment plans. In addition, staffs are also meant to encourage their clients to complete their GED or obtain their high school diploma. In this context, it is more appropriate for staff to have also obtained their high school degree. However, the minimum education requirement can be waived in certain circumstances.<sup>112</sup> If a

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<sup>108</sup> Skogan 3-4.

<sup>109</sup> Skogan 3-5.

<sup>110</sup> Skogan 3-5.

<sup>111</sup> Skogan 3-6.

<sup>112</sup> Skogan 3-6.

client is deemed to be particularly street-savvy, or presents vital skills for the position, his education background can be waived.

Similar to the program in Chicago, CeaseFire Hanover Park sought to find violence interrupters and outreach workers who were familiar with the gangs and the community. Unlike Chicago, however, no panels were used to hire the interrupters. Instead, the executive director and a representative from VPUU made the final decision to hire.<sup>113</sup> They heavily emphasized the importance of input from the at-risk youth they wished to serve. Therefore, after a potential new hire was interviewed, the FCRC staff went around the community to discern the street reputation of the candidate.<sup>114</sup> If the perception was that the candidate garnered respect within the community and seemed to be genuinely reformed, then he was likely hired. However, if there was any belief that the person did not have respect, then he was not hired.

Candidates did not go through drug screens or extensive background checks. Further, while employees were expected to have a basic sense of writing, no minimum education requirement was set. Rather, the crucial factor in determining whether to hire someone was their street-savvy. Reputation within the community was extremely vital in order to be the ideal candidate. Another important feature that distinguishes the program from CeaseFire Chicago was the prevalence of workers who also had belonged to the Numbers gang while in prison. In contrast, Chicago gang members who went to jail continued to belong to the same street gang that they were a part of prior to jail.

When interviewing potential candidates as violence interrupters, the following matrix of factors were used:

**Fig 1:**<sup>115</sup>

| <b>Name and prison gang number</b> | <b>Previous affiliation</b> | <b>High risk groups where credible</b> | <b>Areas of credibility</b> |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
|                                    |                             |  |                             |

<sup>113</sup> First Community Resource Centre. CeaseFire – Hanover Park Baseline Survey Report. (Cape Town: First Community Resource Centre, 2012) 8

<sup>114</sup> First Community Resource Centre. CeaseFire – Hanover Park Baseline Survey Report. 8

<sup>115</sup> First Community Resource Centre. CeaseFire – Hanover Park Baseline Survey Report. 5

|              |          |  |   |
|--------------|----------|--|---|
| Jane Doe, 26 | American | Americans,<br>(including splinter<br>groups), Mongrels,<br>ghetto Kids | States, Backstreets,<br>Die Gange, Jungle |
|--------------|----------|--|---|

Each candidate was further colour-coded to determine how credible they were and in what areas. For instance, a candidate was colour-coded green if they were credible in all neighbourhoods and amongst all groups and dark orange if they were credible in their own neighbourhood and had no credibility amongst any group. In addition, when referring to a candidate, the prison gang that the person had been previously a part of was also referred to within the same column.

When consulting at-risk youth, CeaseFire staff was also encouraged to try and build trusting relationships with the youth, by asserting that the program was anti-shooting and not anti-gang. Also, after explaining the CeaseFire model, workers were instructed to ask high-risk youth if they knew of anyone else who would be suitable violence interrupters or outreach workers.<sup>116</sup> Of the six interrupters who were initially identified as violence interrupters, three of them had belonged to the Americans gang and two of them had been members of the 26s when they were in prison. The one woman on the team had been a counsellor at a local high school.<sup>117</sup>

In its hiring practices, CeaseFire Hanover Park kept in line with CeaseFire Chicago's tenets, and employed street-savvy individuals who had previously been involved with gangs. Both communities viewed former gang members as the best hope for linking the community with gangs in an effort to cure violence, and both program's hiring practices underlie this hope, albeit with safeguards in place. Yet the model allows enough flexibility for each site to implement the strategy as they

<sup>116</sup> Astrid Von Brucken, CeaseFire Hanover Park Steering Committee Draft Interim Baseline Survey Report. (Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading – City of Cape Town, 2012) 4.

<sup>117</sup> First Community Resource Centre. CeaseFire – Hanover Park Baseline Survey Report. 8



see fit. Thus, CeaseFire Hanover Park was able to decide how best to hire appropriate staff.

### *2F: Client Make-Up*

Another factor that has led to CeaseFire's success in Chicago is choosing the right client base. Because CeaseFire distinguishes itself from other models by addressing the needs of gang members, it is crucial to find the right gang members who are extremely high-risk and who are also receptive to getting help. In Chicago, outreach workers were given much leeway in selecting potential clients for their own caseload. Most of these clients were selected off the street, where outreach workers spent most of their time.<sup>118</sup> Any likely candidates were assessed in informal interviews on the street. Outreach workers primarily looked for high-risk clients, and they evaluated gang members as high-risk based on several criteria. These criteria included whether a person was part of a gang, whether the person had been arrested, the age of the individual, and whether the person had been the victim of a shooting.<sup>119</sup> A survey conducted in 2008 details how many clients met the selection criteria: 82 per cent of clients had been arrested, and 45 per cent reported having been arrested five times or more. 56 per cent had spent "more than a day or two" in jail at least once and more than 90 per cent were involved in gangs.<sup>120</sup> A majority of the interviewed clients in Chicago were African American, with the second highest race surveyed being Hispanic. In comparison, candidates in Hanover Park were all coloured. Both sets of clients represented marginalized sections of society. Outreach workers would also ask others on the street about the reputation of potential clients to decide whether or not a gang member would make a good candidate.

Once outreach workers had obtained an adequate caseload of about 15 clients, they set about assisting their clients with obtaining needed services. The most common problem that clients reported having was obtaining a job.<sup>121</sup> In fact, most of the other problems were related in some manner to becoming a more

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<sup>118</sup> Skogan 4-2.

<sup>119</sup> Skogan 4-7.

<sup>120</sup> Skogan 4-12.

<sup>121</sup> Skogan 4-13.

attractive candidate for employment. For example, many clients also reported needing adequate mental health services and anger management courses so that they could better function with others. In addition, clients sought to improve their education, by wanting help to enrol in a GED program or specialized trade courses.<sup>122</sup>

In Chicago, the support system provided by CeaseFire staff was extremely important to clients. For many gang members, their outreach worker was a key role in their lives. In one survey, clients reported that, after their parents, their outreach worker was the most important person in their life.<sup>123</sup> Other forms of support, in the form of siblings, teachers, spouses, and other family members, were ranked below their outreach worker. Clients reported that they often relied on their worker during crucial moments in their lives, such as when they were thinking of getting involved in illegal activities or taking drugs.<sup>124</sup> Also, outreach workers did more than just link clients up to services. Often-times, workers served as informal counsellors and advisers to their clients, providing them support when no one else would. Clients were able to talk to their outreach worker because they shared similar experiences and had an understanding of gang culture and gang life.<sup>125</sup> Though it is too early to evaluate the impact that outreach workers have in Hanover Park, it is likely that, given the similar situations that gang members grew up in, they also feel the positive impact that having an outreach worker provides them.

## ***2G: Misconception of Funding and Sustainability Chicago***

A popular misconception about the CeaseFire model is that it cannot be transplanted to a country such as South Africa because its roots are based in a first-world country. Funding opportunities in first-world countries are much more numerous and diverse than in other parts of the world.<sup>126</sup> The model would therefore not be able to work as effectively in South Africa, because the available resources would be limited, as would sources of funding. However, CeaseFire

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<sup>122</sup> Skogan 4-13.

<sup>123</sup> Skogan 4-29.

<sup>124</sup> Skogan 4-29.

<sup>125</sup> Skogan 4-32.

<sup>126</sup> Seedat 233.

Chicago has been engaged in a struggle to obtain adequate funding since its inception. Despite its hardships, the program has been able to prove that it works to reduce violence. Its success demonstrates that the model can be implemented in areas where funding may be limited. Yet as the following comparison will show, CeaseFire Hanover Park has a more adequate funding base than CeaseFire Chicago.

The funding for CeaseFire Chicago comes from a variety of different sources, such as foundation grants, state funding, and private donations.<sup>127</sup> One must consider the fact, however, that funding is divided up between CeaseFire headquarters at CPVP, which oversees all the sites around the world, and the local sites within the city. Each derives its funding from different places due to the differing needs at the global, national, and local levels of CeaseFire. For example, CPVP consists of four offices. Each of these offices is involved in a different aspect of CeaseFire, ranging from development, implementation, training, and public education, and is therefore funded differently. To give an idea of how big the national and international budget can be, one can examine the 2007 CPVP budget. CPVP's management office received \$1,913,635 to support all site projects that ran locally, nationally, and internationally. The evaluation office received \$312,453 for staff and survey support. The community development office received \$636,709 for technical assistance in Illinois, \$725,183 for outreach staff work in Illinois not managed by contracts with sites, and for violence interrupters, community support, client youth activities, and \$51,600 for public education materials. The total CPVP budget for 2007 was \$3,639,580.<sup>128</sup> Though the numbers are substantial, one must bear in mind that this money was dispersed to both the headquarters and throughout the world to support local sites. In total, there are 50 sites in 15 cities in 8 different countries. In light of these numbers, the budget becomes less substantial.

In contrast, at the local level, community organisations received a budget of approximately \$250,000 per year.<sup>129</sup> The money went towards paying the salaries of the local CeaseFire outreach staff. Though considered to be part of the CeaseFire team, violence interrupters were not paid by their local organisations. Rather, they

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<sup>127</sup> Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>128</sup> Skogan 3-19.

<sup>129</sup> This number is based upon the Chicago evaluation done in 2007. See Skogan 3-18.

were paid through CPVP's main budget, and their funding took the form of a federal grant.<sup>130</sup> In addition to paying outreach staff, community organisations also received some funding to support local community events and outings.<sup>131</sup> Almost all of the local sites were funded by the State of Illinois, through its Department of Corrections. Some organisations were also able to secure additional local funding, but this was atypical.<sup>132</sup>

Though overall, CeaseFire obtained funding from a variety of sources, it was heavily reliant on government funding.<sup>133</sup> For example, in 2006, state and federal sources gave \$7.5 million to the entire CeaseFire program. In contrast, local foundations gave \$1.7 million and corporations only contributed roughly \$130,000.<sup>134</sup> Being funded by the government was extremely problematical, however, especially because government budgets were renewed on a yearly basis. Thus, CeaseFire could be extremely well-funded one year and have virtually no funding the next. This one year window was also especially burdensome when trying to implement a program in a new area.<sup>135</sup> For example, a newly developed site would need to hire appropriate staff and outreach workers. This could take anywhere from several weeks to several months, depending on the availability of suitable candidates. Once hiring occurred, these employees would have to be trained by headquarters, which again took several months. In addition, outreach workers needed to build up a caseload, and both outreach workers and violence interrupters needed to gain the trust of both gang members and the community.<sup>136</sup> This type of trust only occurs with time. However, funders would expect evidence that gang violence was in fact being reduced by the end of the one year period. In order to even track the numbers of shootings, a monitoring and evaluation plan had to be developed. While developing such a plan, the local organisation needed to look for alternative sources of funding, as well.<sup>137</sup> Overall, having to worry about

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<sup>130</sup> Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>131</sup> Skogan 3-18.

<sup>132</sup> Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>133</sup> Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>134</sup> Skogan 3-18.

<sup>135</sup> Skogan 3-19.

<sup>136</sup> Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>137</sup> Skogan 3-19.

funding for the following year was a major distraction to actually realizing CeaseFire's mission.

Another source of concern was the violence interrupter's contracts. The violence interrupters were only meant to work 900 hours before their contract was renewed. Yet many interrupters went over their allocated hours and were forced to stop working until the next contract.<sup>138</sup> In addition, because funding had to be renewed every year, interrupters would have to work with the knowledge that their contracts might not get renewed the following term. Moreover, violence interrupters could not rely on the aide of local sites, because funding and contracts were handled by CPVP.<sup>139</sup> This level of uncertainty again distracted interrupters from focusing on mediating potentially violent conflicts, and the lack of funding also proved to be detrimental to the clients, as they had no one to turn to should an interrupter get laid off.

The other source of concern regarding funding was the fact that most of the money came solely from the State of Illinois. The model was therefore at the mercy of local politics.<sup>140</sup> In order for one political party to have certain programs funded, they would threaten to deny funding for CeaseFire within the districts of opposing political parties.<sup>141</sup> If, in fact, one political party's demands were not met, then funding for CeaseFire would be cut. This is what happened in 2007. The governor of the state and the legislature, both belonging to different parties, could not agree upon the budget for the following year. Infuriated with the legislature for not agreeing to his spending proposals, the governor used his power to cut various items out of the state budget, including funding for CeaseFire.<sup>142</sup>

Due to the politics involved in funding CeaseFire, much of the program's manpower in Chicago is devoted to lobbying for funding for the following year. Employees must call their local representatives, encourage community members to

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<sup>138</sup> Skogan 3-19.

<sup>139</sup> Skogan 3-19.

<sup>140</sup> For a more detailed discussion on the relationship between politics and violence prevention programmes, See Andrew Papachristos, "Too Big to Fail: The Science and Politics of Violence Prevention:" (*Criminology & Public Policy*, 10.4 2011).

<sup>141</sup> Skogan 3-2.

<sup>142</sup> Skogan 3-2.

contact their own representatives, and rally outside government offices.<sup>143</sup> This manpower would best be used to continue the fight to reduce violence, however, without needed funding, CeaseFire would not exist. Another issue that CeaseFire Chicago had to contend with was the fact that some officials expect favours in return for their support. For example, a representative may wish to have a CeaseFire program established in another part of their district, despite the fact that one may already exist.<sup>144</sup> A common request is that the representative asks CeaseFire staff to campaign for the representative during the next election. This poses a dilemma as CeaseFire is not affiliated with any party or elected official. On the one hand, CeaseFire needs political clout to stay on the budget; on the other, politics interferes with the ultimate aims of the program. Thus, contrary to the belief that CeaseFire Chicago has many more funding opportunities and resources available to it, the program regularly is threatened with being closed down.

## ***2H: Sustained Funding for CeaseFire Hanover Park***

Though one would expect that CeaseFire Hanover Park would be more difficult to implement because the area is not as wealthy as its Chicago counterpart, CeaseFire Hanover Park does not have the same budgetary constraints that plague Chicago's CeaseFire program. The City of Cape Town, through the department of Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading – or VPUU for short – has partnered with the Western Cape Government's Provincial Department of Community Safety to run a pilot program within Cape Town for several years. The government allocated R9 million over a period of 3 years to develop and implement the CeaseFire program.<sup>145</sup> This amount is all the more significant because it is allocated solely for the use of one local site, and does not have to be spread throughout the country, unlike with CPVP's budget.

Because the model hinged on a local community organisation to spearhead the program, a public announcement was made to all Hanover Park organisations to submit a tender to the city if they were interested in hosting CeaseFire. The winning bid was awarded to First Community Resource centre. The contract started in

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<sup>143</sup>Skogan 2-2.

<sup>144</sup>Skogan 3-21..

<sup>145</sup>City of Cape Town, Report to Executive Mayor. (n.p., 5 Aug. 2012) 5.

August 2012, and First Community Resource centre was tasked with developing and implementing the model.<sup>146</sup> Cape Town's government has shown even more enthusiasm for the program than Chicago, as it is willing to pour in additional money for supplemental CeaseFire initiatives. For instance, prior to implementation of the program, the Provincial Department of Community Safety invested R250, 000 into the initial training of 26 community members in the CeaseFire model.<sup>147</sup>

Like CeaseFire Chicago, CeaseFire Hanover Park must cater to the government as the organisation is completely reliant on government funding. Thus, VPUU works closely with FCRC to ensure that the funding for CeaseFire is appropriately managed. FCRC submits an estimated budget every quarter to detail the expenses that they are expected to incur and a monthly report explaining the activities for that period.<sup>148</sup>

Though the government's influx of money to CeaseFire is substantial, it must be noted that the government money itself is derived from various sources. VPUU was established through the partnership between the City of Cape Town, along with the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and the German Development Bank – KfW.<sup>149</sup> The German infusion of capital has been a huge support to running VPUU and a breakdown of their assistance can be seen below (where the amount in rands represents the amount given by the German partnership):

**Fig 2<sup>150</sup>:**

| Phase   | Amount in Rands | Status   | Intervention Area |
|---------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Phase 1 | R75 million     | complete | Khayelitsha       |
| Phase 2 | R30 million     | complete | Khayelitsha       |

<sup>146</sup> City of Cape Town, Report to Executive Mayor. 5.

<sup>147</sup> City of Cape Town, Report to Executive Mayor. 4.

<sup>148</sup> First Community Resource Centre. Hanover Park CeaseFire Monthly Report. (Cape Town: First Community Resource Centre, 15 April 2013.) 3.

<sup>149</sup> City of Cape Town. Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading Project. (n.p. n.d.) 3.

<sup>150</sup> City of Cape Town. Report to Executive Mayor. 2.

|         |             |                |                        |
|---------|-------------|----------------|------------------------|
| Phase 3 | R50 million | underway       | Khayelitsha/Cape Flats |
| Phase 4 | R50 million | New allocation | To be determined       |

Phase 3 of the funding is meant to introduce the VPUU methodology to Hanover Park and Manenburg within the Cape Flats. CeaseFire's funding falls under this phase as part of VPUU's work in the Cape Flats. However, the German funding will not be indefinite and VPUU must look to other sources of funding once the German partnership is concluded after Phase 4 is completed. The funding that CeaseFire Hanover Park has obtained disproves the notion that less-developed countries cannot match the funding that more advanced countries can provide. On the contrary, through unique partnerships and local support, CeaseFire can thrive in different communities. A more real concern is ensuring that funding, no matter how much or how little, be given on a constant basis, without any threat of disappearing from year to year. By allocating the money over a 3 year period, Cape Town has shown their commitment to building a long-term solution within Hanover Park.



### **Chapter 3: Gang Development in Chicago and Hanover Park**

#### ***3A: From Immigrants to Gangsters: How Gangs Developed in Chicago***

CeaseFire as it operates in Chicago focuses on the most violent areas of the city. Using data given to them by the police, CeaseFire determines which neighbourhoods have the highest rates of shootings and homicides.<sup>151</sup> Not surprisingly, these sites are mostly located on the South and West side of Chicago, and are predominantly comprised of African Americans and Latinos.<sup>152</sup> Most of these residents live below the poverty line, as well.<sup>153</sup> The Chicago-land neighbourhoods that incorporated CeaseFire also shared similar historical backgrounds. Many of the neighbourhoods had been comprised of largely immigrant families up until the 1950s and 60s.<sup>154</sup> Working class Germans, Irish, and Italians called the South Side their home, and many still do. However, due to economic conditions, starting in the 50s, more and more African Americans started moving into the city. Land was still cheap on the south side; particularly the further away one was from Lake Michigan and from downtown Chicago.<sup>155</sup> Also, more blue-collar work could be found on the South Side.

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<sup>151</sup> Papachristos 1056.

<sup>152</sup> City of Chicago 10.

<sup>153</sup> Tyree 33.

<sup>154</sup> Skogan 2-6.

<sup>155</sup> Skogan 2-6.

The South Side was home to the meat-packing industry, as well as the steel and retail industries. However, as blacks started moving in, whites started moving out. Coupled with this mass migration was the decline of the industries that once supported the local economy.<sup>156</sup> As businesses relocated or went bankrupt, they closed huge plants and stores within the local communities.<sup>157</sup> These buildings remain abandoned to this day, and create an air of neglect and disuse within the neighbourhoods. In addition, these buildings are ideal spots for drug deals and involvement in other illegal activities. Another common feature that the various neighbourhoods which CeaseFire operates in is the prevalence of large apartment buildings that are owned by absentee landlords.<sup>158</sup> These buildings show signs of disrepair and neglect, as well. However, because of their state, rent can be relatively cheap. Thus, poorer residents keep such buildings profitable, as they are unable to afford any other type of housing. The conditions of these neighbourhoods deter any potential investors from buying up property.<sup>159</sup> Without such investors, jobs are scarce and limited to the local businesses, such as grocery stores and hair dressers. The amount of unemployment is extremely high, and consequently, a high rate of families also live below the poverty line. Estimates of households who fall below the poverty line range anywhere from a quarter of the population to half, depending on the neighbourhood that is surveyed.<sup>160</sup>

In choosing the sites within Chicago, other factors were considered. High crime was linked to high gang activity, and many of the neighbourhoods chosen had inadequate responses when trying to deal with the violence. Where the need for a model such as CeaseFire was great, those neighbourhoods would get prioritized first. However, politicians also tried to convince CeaseFire to establish the model in their own wards.<sup>161</sup> Having the support had both up and down sides, as political support meant access to the network of potential allies that the program would not normally have. Political support also came at a price sometimes, especially when politicians were eager to claim that the program endorsed their run for office around

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<sup>156</sup> Skogan 2-7.

<sup>157</sup> George C. Klein. "For The New Commander In Chief: A Violence Prevention Strategy." (Journal of Police Crisis Negotiations 9:1 2009).

<sup>158</sup> Skogan 2-9.

<sup>159</sup> Skogan 2-9.

<sup>160</sup> Skogan 2-9.

<sup>161</sup> Skogan 2-20.

election time.<sup>162</sup> Political support was balanced against the other factors that went into deciding where to place the program.

In terms of placement in Cape Town, critics of implementing CeaseFire in Hanover Park point to the notable differences between Chicago's and Hanover Park's history. Specifically, Chicago did not have laws which forced the removal of large segments of its population based on race. The effects of such measures as the Group Areas Act and other Apartheid laws are still felt today in Cape Town. However, Chicago's own history of battling segregation and racism has made it the most segregated city in the United States, where blacks and Latinos live in the most impoverished neighbourhoods of the city. Though no official law decreed that these populations could only live in designated areas, the overall effects of racism can still be felt. This history closely matches Cape Town's apartheid struggles. A closer look into the development of Cape Town gangs illustrates the parallels between the two cities, as well as highlights some of the major differences.

### ***3B: From District Six to the Ganglands of Hanover Park***

Gangs in Cape Town only began to develop when mass migrations to the urban areas throughout South Africa started to occur, between 1924 and 1946. It was during this time that the country had suffered from a five-year drought and from the effects of the Great Depression, which resulted in a scarcity of jobs for the rural poor.<sup>163</sup> Many farms had no work to offer, which drove people to seek employment elsewhere. Believing that more opportunities would be found in urban areas, the rural poor flocked to cities such as Cape Town. Because of this migration, areas such as District Six in Cape Town were transformed from a mostly European population to one that consisted of a coloured working class.<sup>164</sup> The coloured class was able to find more opportunity in urban areas, as South Africa had experienced an economic boom. More factories sprang up in these cities, and along with them rose the demand for cheap labour. Factory work was not the only source of employment for the masses, since more people meant a greater need for goods and

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<sup>162</sup> Skogan 2-21.

<sup>163</sup> Don Pinnock, Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town. (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1986), 116.

<sup>164</sup> Pinnock, Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town. 116

services, such as groceries, clothing items, and other everyday living essentials.<sup>165</sup> Thus, people were able to find a wide variety of work, ranging from grocers to seamstresses to barbers. A parallel here can be drawn with Chicago, as black workers arrived in droves into the city in order to take advantage of the job opportunities available. An economic boom had created a need for blue-collar workers similar to the one experienced in Cape Town.

In both cities, the work paid extremely low wages, and resulted in these working classes residing in the poorer areas of their respective cities. In Cape Town, areas such as District Six were overcrowded with residents, who shared cramped quarters.<sup>166</sup> With the constant infusion of rural workers, District Six steadily became more and more overcrowded. In addition, more and more areas within the city were designated 'whites only' areas, forcing more coloured families to move into the already overflowing District Six.<sup>167</sup> One of the consequences of the overcrowding was the growing number of youth who came together and started hanging out on street corners and other public spaces. These youth were poor and had nothing to do.<sup>168</sup> They were nicknamed the 'skollies,' as they were considered outsiders to the area.<sup>169</sup> In response to these bands of skollies, vigilante groups of youth formed to oust them from District Six. These gangs were often comprised of the children of the more affluent District Six families and tended to distinguish themselves as more up-scale by dressing in fashionable clothes. Originally, these vigilante groups would work with the police.<sup>170</sup> Gradually, however, gangs such as The Globe became drawn to the profits and allure of various illegal businesses, such as racketeering and running shebeens.<sup>171</sup> They harassed local shop-owners and made these shopkeepers pay 'protection fees.' Over time, the Globe resembled the gangs which they had fought to keep out of District Six.

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<sup>165</sup> Pillay 47.

<sup>166</sup> Don Pinnock, *Gangs and Family Structure. Crime & Power in South Africa*. (Claremont: David Philip, 1985), 22.

<sup>167</sup> Pinnock, *Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town*. 72.

<sup>168</sup> Pinnock, *Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town*. 62.

<sup>169</sup> Don Pinnock, *Elsies River*. (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1980) 58.

<sup>170</sup> Pillay 46.

<sup>171</sup> Wilfried Scharf and Patricia Schonstein, *Gangs Sourcebook*. (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1983), 5.

The gangs of District Six did not resemble the gangs of Hanover Park today, and community members did not live with the fear that currently pervades the Cape Flats. One of the primary reasons that community members were able to have a better handle on gangs was because a stronger sense of community existed in District Six. District Six residents were able to create extensive support networks with family and friends.<sup>172</sup> Those who worked pooled their income together to help the entire community, both employed and unemployed. This income served to meet basic household needs. Unemployed members found other ways to contribute, such as taking care of everyday household duties.<sup>173</sup> In this manner, families of the urban poor became more than the nuclear parent-child household. Extended families proved to be a key factor in surviving in District Six. These families were able to take on duties that would have otherwise been costly to utilize. For instance, due to a lack of adequate police protection, extended families were relied upon to keep the area safe and secure.<sup>174</sup> Also, working parents could have their children be supervised by aunts, uncles, or grandparents. Members of the family each had roles to play in order to support the extended family.<sup>175</sup> Furthermore, the 'informal' economy that operated in District Six helped the otherwise unemployed make a somewhat sustainable living for themselves.

Against the backdrop of the daily lives of the coloured class in District Six, the Apartheid government began to pass laws that would forever change South Africa's social structures. These laws deepened the divide between the races, as well as between the working and upper classes. The Registration Act was one such example of a law that classified all South Africans into racial categories, and the Group Areas Act was also passed at this time.<sup>176</sup> The Apartheid laws not only created a divide amongst the different races, they also tore up the social fabric that comprised the extended family networks. In particular, the youth felt the effects of a lack of an extended support system. They no longer had positive role models who

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<sup>172</sup>Schärf, *Towards Justice? Crime and State Control in South Africa*. 242.

<sup>173</sup>Pinnock, *Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town*. 56.

<sup>174</sup>Pinnock, *Gangs and Family Structure. Crime & Power in South Africa* 23.

<sup>175</sup>Pinnock, *Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town*. 56.

<sup>176</sup>Pillay 46.

could guide them into making healthy decisions for themselves, and eventually sought role models out on the streets, where the first gangs began to take shape.

Perhaps no other law is as clearly pertinent to the formation of gangs in Cape Town as the Group Areas Act. The passage of the Act had been debated for years, but it finally became law by the 1960s, when Cape Town's economy was receding from the earlier post-war boom.<sup>177</sup> As jobs became scarce, government officials sought to control the stream of workers flooding into the city, and eradicate the overflowing coloured areas such as District Six. A new layout for Cape Town was needed, and the ideas of a Frenchman by the name of Le Corbusier were extremely popular throughout the rest of the world.<sup>178</sup>

Le Corbusier's visions for the modern urban city called for specific working class areas which were spread around the central city.<sup>179</sup> These 'satellites' would contain the poor while at the same time giving them access to the city itself. Le Corbusier advocated the formation of 'garden cities,' the name he gave for the working class townships.<sup>180</sup> He is credited with planning modern working class dwellings and his ideas influenced the development of modern cities throughout the world, including the United States.<sup>181</sup> His plans were actually used to build the housing projects within Chicago, as well, only to be criticized years later as a disaster in urban planning. Le Corbusier's designs in Chicago isolated and entrapped residents, and helped to create the conditions that led to gang formation and violence within the city.<sup>182</sup> At the height of his popularity, however, Le Corbusier's allegedly innovative designs were championed by government officials as a way of effectively dealing with the urban poor. Cape Town had been similarly inspired by Le Corbusier's approach, and Cape Town government officials sought to imitate his work. The architects of the newly envisioned Cape Town drew up plans for 'garden cities' to be erected around the outskirts of the city itself. These

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<sup>177</sup> Pillay 45.

<sup>178</sup> Pinnock, *Gangs and Family Structure. Crime & Power in South Africa* 22.

<sup>179</sup> Pinnock, *Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town*. 131.

<sup>180</sup> Steffen Jensen, *Gangs, Politics & Dignity in Cape Town*. (Oxford: James Currey, 2008) 185.

<sup>181</sup> Pinnock, *Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town*. 131.

<sup>182</sup> Herbert Muschamp. "Le Corbusier Reborn." *The Chicago Tribune* 18 April 1993.

architects envisioned satellite townships that sprang away from the city centre.<sup>183</sup> The garden cities were to be characterized by order and repetition. They were to be self-contained, as well, with green spaces clearly delineating the boundaries of the townships.<sup>184</sup> These green spaces served a dual purpose, as they also were a buffer between the city and the townships. In effect, the green spaces could be utilized by the city's police and other security forces in the event of uprisings or riots from within the townships.<sup>185</sup> The City threw itself behind the garden cities concept, and passed what was to be the third and final instalment of the Group Areas Act in 1966.<sup>186</sup> The Act forced coloured and black families to move from their homes within the city and to be relocated to the outskirts of town. These towns were to be designated as 'non-white' areas and were to be self-governed by its residents.<sup>187</sup> The city itself was to remain white. Officials proclaimed that the removals would reduce any friction between blacks and whites.<sup>188</sup>

The overall effects of the removals were to be profound and long-lasting. The designated area that the coloured classes were moved to had previously been uninhabited and uncultivated land, known as the Cape Flats. The idea of a garden city never materialized as the soil itself was of poor quality and mostly sandy, making it difficult for any type of vegetation to grow.<sup>189</sup> In addition, the architects of the garden city envisioned residents to transport themselves to and from the city centre via an automobile; most of the working class had no such vehicle at their disposal. They were effectively tied to their land as they lacked any kind of mobility.<sup>190</sup> This lack of transport also made it difficult for people to get to their jobs and to find employment, as well.

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<sup>183</sup> Jensen 42.

<sup>184</sup> Jensen 42.

<sup>185</sup> Pinnock, Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town. 142.

<sup>186</sup> Pinnock, Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town. 144.

<sup>187</sup> NICRO and the UCT Institute of Criminology, Gangs: The Search for Self-Respect. (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1990), p. 3.

<sup>188</sup> Pinnock, Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town. 144.

<sup>189</sup> NICRO, Crime on the Cape Flats. (n.p. 1975), 21.

<sup>190</sup> Pinnock, Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town. 144.

Another significant impact that led to the development of gangs, was the tearing apart of the extended family unit. The garden city was built around the notion of a nuclear family, though most coloured families considered their families to be their extended support systems.<sup>191</sup> Extended families were broken up and moved throughout the Cape Flats, and family members no longer lived in close proximity to one another. The vital support that these families provided was gone, and parents had to rely on institutions to supervise their children while they were at work.<sup>192</sup> If parents could not afford to pay these institutions, then children were commonly left on their own to fend for themselves. The extended families helped to create a unique culture within the confines of District Six.<sup>193</sup> The culture of District Six came with its own set of rules that helped to maintain order within the community. Yet the Group Areas Act managed to not only destroy District Six, but this class culture, as well. Without this culture, disorder and chaos ensued. Despite the city's efforts, overcrowding in the Cape Flats was a common occurrence. Flats would house multiple occupants, with limited, if any, private space available.<sup>194</sup> Children would be forced to stay out on the streets. However, whereas in District Six children were familiar with the corner shops and the neighbours that lived around them, in the Cape Flats, everyone was a stranger, and children would seek out their peers in order to obtain some semblance of belonging.

The play groups that children formed centred around the blocks that they lived on or around the courtyards adjacent to their flats. These groups served as substitutes for the children's own families, as most of their time was spent with these groups.<sup>195</sup> As with their own families, children were fiercely loyal to one another and developed strong allegiances to their block. As the children grew older, the play groups also changed to accommodate their needs.<sup>196</sup> From simply playing with one

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<sup>191</sup> NICRO, *Gangs: The Search for Self-Respect*. 3.

<sup>192</sup> NICRO, *Gangs: The Search for Self-Respect*. 3.

<sup>193</sup> Pinnock, *Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town*. 163.

<sup>194</sup> Pinnock, *Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town*. 6

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Wilfried Schärf, *Street Gangs, Survival and Political Consciousness in the Eighties*. (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1986), p. 5.

<sup>196</sup> Kinnes. "Contesting Police Governance: Respect Authority and Belonging in Organised Violent Gangs in Cape Town" 37.



another, the youth became more defence-oriented and protective of their blocks, and defence of their block, their territory, was of the utmost importance.<sup>197</sup> Modern day gangs rose from these early play groups. Fierce battles over territory occurred on a daily basis, and the battles were often bloody.

The battles over territory expanded, as well. Gangs fought over the right to be considered the most powerful gang.<sup>198</sup> These gang battles further illustrate the common nature of the problem, as gangs in Chicago also fought vicious battles over turf. For both Chicago and Cape Town gangs, in order to emerge on top, gangs became more organized and structured. They involved themselves in illegal businesses and trade.<sup>199</sup> Gangs first bought and sold firearms, but business expanded to the lucrative market of drug trafficking. Millions were made by the high demand for drugs, and gang members became involved in the competition over who had the right to sell where. In Cape Town, the former battles over territory no longer centred around the concept of defending one's family, but rather defending one's market.<sup>200</sup> Gangs sought monopolies over the drug trade and competition between rival gangs often ended in violent fights, where innocent people were often caught in the crossfire. The violence that gangs exhibited was also perpetuated by the fact that they themselves had been victims of violence committed by the Group Areas Act.<sup>201</sup> Had it not been for the forced removals, these gang members would have retained the culture from which they had come from. They also would have better access to the formal market and employment opportunities.<sup>202</sup> With limited resources available to them, however, gangs were forced to survive using whatever means possible.

### ***3C: The Unique Influence of Prison Gang Culture on Hanover Park Street Gangs***

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#### **197**

Schärf. Street Gangs, Survival and Political Consciousness in the Eighties. 5.

<sup>198</sup> NICRO, Gangs: The Search for Self-Respect. 7.

<sup>199</sup> Kinnes. "Contesting Police Governance: Respect Authority and Belonging in Organised Violent Gangs in Cape Town" 37.

<sup>200</sup> Kinnes. "Contesting Police Governance: Respect Authority and Belonging in Organised Violent Gangs in Cape Town" 38.

<sup>201</sup> Pinnock. Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town. 7.

<sup>202</sup> Pinnock. Towards an Understanding of the Structure, Function and Cause of Gang Formation in Cape Town. 7.

Though prison gangs are not unique to Cape Town or South Africa, the culture that is created by prison gangs is distinguishable from other prison gangs around the world. The folklore, traditions, and rituals that are passed down between inmates are something akin to ancient cultures passing on the story of their people. In addition, South African prison gangs have, until recently, successfully been able to keep street gangs outside of the world of prison gangs. What happened in the outside world did not cross into the realm of the prison gangs, and all that mattered was what happened while in prison. This exclusive status sets prison gang members on a pedestal above regular gang members. Their influence on the streets is vast and therefore CeaseFire must be able to access this world as well.<sup>203</sup> It is necessary to expand on prison gang culture before explaining why any sustainable violence prevention initiative such as CeaseFire must include engaging this segment of the population.

Within South Africa, three major prison gangs dominate – the 26s, 27s, and the 28s. These gangs credit a bandit by the name of Nongoloza with the formation of prison gang culture as it is today.<sup>204</sup> Nongoloza initially formed a gang of robbers in the hills of Klipriversberg, near Johannesburg. He organized this gang according to what he termed, “Nineveh law,” a name he derived from reading the Bible.<sup>205</sup> Nineveh laws gave hierarchy and structure to Nongoloza's men and these men grew in number. When Nongoloza was first jailed at the end of the nineteenth century, he took his laws and recruited members to his gang within prison walls. The traditions that have been carried on through generations are a combination of the laws that Nongoloza formulated, as well as rituals and folklore that have been added to recreate Nongoloza the man into Nongoloza the god, an idol worshiped throughout the centuries.<sup>206</sup> The colourful and embellished tale of how Nongoloza formed the first prison gangs has been spread throughout South African prisons.

Only members of the prison gangs are privy to the entire tale of Nongoloza, and each gang adds its own interpretation and account to the story so as to differentiate itself from the other gangs. Along with the story comes numerous

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<sup>203</sup>Taheri-Keramati 261.

<sup>204</sup>Jonny Steinberg, The Number (Jeppestown, South Africa: Jonathan Ball, 2004), 35.

<sup>205</sup>Steinberg 37.

<sup>206</sup>Steinberg 37

rituals and customs that are performed by members of the respective gangs, and each gang member has a specific role to carry out.<sup>207</sup> Any member who reveals the traditions of the gang to non-members will be punished severely, even by death. This secrecy makes the prison gangs an elite group. To become a part of this group, one must be initiated, but once a part of it; one is guaranteed all the protection and benefits that come with being a gang member.<sup>208</sup> Because of the exclusivity of prison gangs, they were revered in the outside world.<sup>209</sup> Street gangs sought to copy the traditions and incorporate the hierarchy and rituals into their own ways of life. However, these gangs lacked the immense body of knowledge regarding Nongoloza and his laws. Nonetheless, the limited information that they did possess, they flaunted, by making new initiates undergo similar rituals and by seeking the friendships of prison gang members whom they encountered.

The two different forms of gangs remained separated from one another for decades, until the boom of the drug trade in the 1990s. Gangsters who made a lucrative business selling drugs were able to use their cash to buy them favours in jail when they were arrested.<sup>210</sup> Money was a source of power in prison, and gradually, gangsters were able to buy their way into the prison gangs. These gangsters, who had previously limited knowledge of the prison gang culture, became high-ranking officers and learned the long-locked secrets of the prison gangs.<sup>211</sup> They took this information and blended it with their knowledge of street gang culture, appointing loyal street gang members into high positions within the Number gangs. Whereas before it took a lifetime to achieve such status, pay-offs helped create a fast-track to respected positions.<sup>212</sup> Ultimately, prison gangs became associated with street gangs, and a member of the Americans on the outside of prison knew that he would become a 26, should he go to prison.<sup>213</sup> Prison gangs thus hugely influenced Cape Town gang culture.

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<sup>207</sup> Jensen 83.

<sup>208</sup> Jensen 84.

<sup>209</sup> Jensen 83.

<sup>210</sup> Steinberg 282.

<sup>211</sup> Steinberg 282.

<sup>212</sup> Steinberg 282.

<sup>213</sup> Steinberg 282.

CeaseFire Hanover Park must tailor its program to also engage prison gang members, because once they are released from prison, they carry an enormous amount of respect and fear within the community. These gangsters can become carriers of violence, and spread it throughout the community, thereby negating any previous efforts to foster peace.

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## **Chapter 4: Creating a Holistic and Sustainable Approach with the Community**

One of the main pillars of CeaseFire's model is to work with the community to tackle violence. The program recognizes that no long-term solution can occur without everyone's cooperation, as gang violence is a complex community problem.<sup>214</sup> As shown, the evolution of gang violence within the Cape Flats involved many different factors and occurred over decades to become what it is today. It will take the efforts of numerous entities to work together to undo these factors. For CeaseFire to buy into community mobilization, it must engage community stakeholders. This chapter seeks to identify those stakeholders and the potential hindrances to cooperation that may arise. In order to be successful, CeaseFire Hanover Park must address these obstacles.

### ***4A: Local Community Engagement***

#### **4A-1: First Community Resource Centre**

First Community Resource Centre, or FCRC, is the local site that hosts CeaseFire in Hanover Park. The wide array of services that FCRC offers is a vital tool to utilize for the CeaseFire program. FCRC is an independent not-for-profit and is located in the central hub of Hanover Park. FCRC's mission is to alleviate poverty by providing a range of services to residents of the Hanover Park community.<sup>215</sup> The organisation is meant to address any social skills deficit within youth and teach youth important skills that will empower them to manage themselves so that they refrain from entering gangs or abusing drugs and alcohol. FCRC was the brainchild of Pastor Engel, who also runs the CeaseFire Project.<sup>216</sup> The idea came to fruition as a result of the community centre that was built using donations from the community, and specifically donations from the Pentecostal church within Hanover Park. By partnering with FCRC, CeaseFire also forms alliances with the supporters of FCRC, such as the Pentecostal Church. In addition, CeaseFire is privy to a whole network of community organisations through FCRC's connections. FCRC employs 4-5 staff members who coordinate day-to-day affairs

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<sup>214</sup> Sweas 14.

<sup>215</sup> "Our Passion is People." *First Community Resource Centre*. (n.p., n.d.)

<sup>216</sup> Von Brucken, CeaseFire (CURE Violence) – Hanover Park Pilot Project. 9

and activities.<sup>217</sup> The organisation also heavily relies on the use of volunteers to facilitate programs and activities. Programs are also run in conjunction with one another to promote a more integrated service approach. These measures help keep costs manageable for the organisation, thereby creating more sustainable assistance to the community, as well.<sup>218</sup> Sustainable assistance and long term investment within the community are aims that FCRC is dedicated to and the organisation also provides services that reflect these aims. Forming a relationship with CeaseFire is beneficial to the FCRC, as well, since building such ties is central to FCRC's aims.

FCRC is involved in numerous programs, many of which could benefit CeaseFire's clients. These services include career guidance, parent support groups, and counselling. Many of these services are geared specifically towards the youth, as they are the segment of the population that need the most guidance within the community. For example, the career guidance initiative offers courses and activities that help youth in choosing career paths. Implementers of the program also offer advice on school subjects and what higher levels of education youth should pursue.<sup>219</sup> They additionally give youth advice on how to obtain financial assistance for high education. Having career counsellors in the same space as the CeaseFire program can serve as a positive influence on clients who may be deciding on what to do with their future. Besides career counselling, FCRC offers computer training courses in Microsoft Office and using the Internet for school work. Ten computers are available for the community's benefit and four tutors help students and community members learn basic computer skills.<sup>220</sup> Computer training is another way that youth can become better equipped to find a job and apply for higher education. FCRC additionally provides training to ex-offenders, and encourages ex-offenders to develop skills that will help them to successfully reintegrate back into society.<sup>221</sup> FCRC's space gives CeaseFire clients a welcoming environment where

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<sup>217</sup> "Our Passion is People." [First Community Resource Centre.](#)

<sup>218</sup> Von Brucken, CeaseFire (CURE Violence) – Hanover Park Pilot Project. 9

<sup>219</sup> "Our Passion is People." [First Community Resource Centre.](#)

<sup>220</sup> "Our Passion is People." [First Community Resource Centre.](#)

<sup>221</sup> "Our Passion is People." [First Community Resource Centre.](#)

they can get away from street life, at least for a few hours, and work on improving job skills.<sup>222</sup>

Therapeutic counselling is another huge component of the services that are offered at FCRC. A wide variety of topics are addressed in therapy, such as spiritual, emotional, and financial issues. Though staff makes it a point to always be available for community members; in order to obtain specialized counselling, FCRC contracts with other organisations and uses certified therapists.<sup>223</sup> This service is essential for CeaseFire clients who often have the most need for therapy. Moreover, because FCRC is interested in keeping children off the streets so that they will not be influenced to join a gang, the organisation provides a wide array of extracurricular activities for youth, as well. Within the centre are pool tables, board games, and table tennis, which can be used when the centre is open, from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday.<sup>224</sup> Staff and volunteers also run various arts and cultural programs for children, which include concerts and dance recitals. When school is in session, FCRC uses volunteers to act as tutors for children, who are welcome to complete their homework at the centre, since oftentimes the home environment for children can be distracting to do work.

Another major component of FCRC is its substance abuse program. It entails a six-week camp which helps clients become clean and sober and provides them with skills to maintain sobriety. Upon completion of the six weeks, clients are required to enrol in aftercare to ensure that they have the necessary support to stay clean.<sup>225</sup> Many youth who are caught in the criminal justice system because of substance abuse are referred to FCRC as part of a diversion program. These youth enter into FCRC's substance abuse program to achieve a clean and sober lifestyle.

The wide variety of services available through FCRC fosters CeaseFire's mission to offer a holistic and integrated approach to helping 'at-risk' youth. As part of CeaseFire's outreach workers' efforts to link youth to other support systems

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<sup>222</sup> First Community Resource Centre. Hanover Park CeaseFire Monthly Report. (Cape Town: First Community Resource Centre, February 2013).

<sup>223</sup> First Community Resource Centre, Hanover Park CeaseFire Monthly Report. Cape Town: (First Community Resource Centre, 15 March 2013.)

<sup>224</sup> "Our Passion is People." First Community Resource Centre.

<sup>225</sup> Von Brucken, CeaseFire (CURE Violence) – Hanover Park Pilot Project. 10.

within the community, many referrals can be done directly to FCRC. For example, youth who have trouble with drug abuse can become enrolled in the drug treatment program offered by FCRC.<sup>226</sup> In addition, FCRC offers a safe space for troubled youth to come to should they want to escape the streets for a time. Moreover, because the CeaseFire program is housed there, youth have the opportunity to talk to their caseworkers or violence interrupters while at the site. Youth can also be exposed to FCRC staff and volunteers who can serve as positive influences. The more such influences that these youth have, the more likely they will be steered towards making positive decisions in their lives. The downside to being hosted by an organisation such as FCRC, however, is that it discourages CeaseFire from partnering with other neighbouring organisations. Because FCRC contains all the necessary resources for youth within one space, outreach workers lose the incentive to build better relationships with the community. These relationships could also possibly benefit the youth, as well. Though FCRC is centrally located, at-risk youth may have a greater need to find an organisation that is more closely located to their home, especially if they have to cross rival gang territory to reach the site. Further, other organisations may offer different approaches to helping youth, and without any incentive to reach out to them, workers may not have a chance to explore the services that such organisations may offer.

#### **4A-2: CASE**

Community Action for a Safer Environment, or CASE, shares a similar mission to CeaseFire and has the added benefit of having a well-respected reputation within the community. CASE was formed by a local Hanover Park resident and is therefore considered to be an organic initiative to address violence.<sup>227</sup> The organisation utilizes volunteers to run specific services targeted to those impacted by the cycle of violence. Primarily, CASE attempts to deal with the root causes of violence and its effects on the perpetrators and victims of such violence. The main focus is on youth. However, CASE's interventions incorporate the entire community, including police, teachers, parents, and students.<sup>228</sup> The organisation

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<sup>226</sup>Von Brucken, CeaseFire (CURE Violence) – Hanover Park Pilot Project. 9

<sup>227</sup>"CASE: Break the Cycle of Violence." CASE. (n.p., n.d. ).

<sup>228</sup>"CASE: Break the Cycle of Violence." CASE. (n.p., n.d. ).



spearheads two main initiatives, the Training and Personal Development program and the Community Projects Development program.

The Training and Personal Development program aims to help people deal with violence in an appropriate manner by assisting individuals with addressing their own trauma first. The program is geared towards both adults and youth, where adults are given counselling training, personal development courses, and mentoring.<sup>229</sup> The adults are also encouraged to recruit and train new volunteers. As part of the TPD program, 'youth in action' targets youth by providing life skills training and workshops based on youth needs. Recruitment and mentoring is also included in this category. Once through the TPD program, participants become the leader of the Community Development program. Community Development centres on the establishment of support groups. These support groups are tailored to specific needs, such as trauma, parent support, and therapeutic support within the community.<sup>230</sup>

Another important component to CASE's program is its insistence that counsellors be brought into schools in a structured way, by being a constant presence within the school – up to 30 hours per week. Students thus have a regular and consistent access to support, crisis management, and on-going treatment.<sup>231</sup> The trauma work is incorporated into the life skills courses in all South African schools. CASE also has partnered with the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders – NICRO – to provide support groups for youth who are in the criminal justice system. Other ways that CASE has been able to reach out to the community is by providing the 'Care for Carer' program, where staff reach out to police and community workers to help them better cope with the trauma that they regularly experience.<sup>232</sup> The program aims to prevent burn-out, which is crucial to stopping violence on a community-wide scale.

A partnership with CASE would have numerous benefits for CeaseFire, the least of which includes giving CeaseFire a more legitimate and reputable image within the community. Because CASE has been in the community for years, and its

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<sup>229</sup>"CASE: Break the Cycle of Violence." CASE. (n.p., n.d. ).

<sup>230</sup>Von Brucken, CeaseFire (CURE Violence) – Hanover Park Pilot Project. 8.

<sup>231</sup>"CASE: Break the Cycle of Violence." CASE. (n.p., n.d. ).

<sup>232</sup>"CASE: Break the Cycle of Violence." CASE. (n.p., n.d. ).

programs are seen as having a positive impact within the community, its endorsement of CeaseFire would bolster the work that CeaseFire is attempting to do. Further, CeaseFire's clients could benefit immensely from the services that are offered by CASE. CASE's mentorship and tutoring program is yet another way that gang members who are trying to reform can become a more positive role model for younger children who look up to these high-risk individuals. Also, the trauma that CeaseFire's clients undergo could be adequately addressed in a program such as CASE. CASE focuses on hiring experts and has qualified staff to help deal with such trauma. This service is especially vital because CeaseFire outreach workers do not have such training, and have numerous other responsibilities towards their clients, so that they cannot address the trauma in an adequate manner.<sup>233</sup> Finally, CASE services can be beneficial to CeaseFire staff themselves. Interrupters and outreach workers regularly enter into crisis situations and there is a danger of burning out from the work. Programs such as the 'Care for Carer' initiative are specifically tailored to help staff deal with these pressures.

#### ***4B: City Government Engagement***

##### **4B-2: VPUU**

Community partnership is multi-faceted, in that alliances must be formed with different segments of the community, including the local government. Thus, while CeaseFire must partner with organisations such as CASE, it also must look to outside organisations to strengthen community involvement. One such organisation that CeaseFire is involved with is The Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading program, or VPUU. VPUU was established in 2006 by The City of Cape Town. The VPUU program is aimed at social, situational and institutional crime prevention and links urban upgrading with a wide variety of social interventions.<sup>234</sup> The program's concept starts from the premise that a sustainable, safe, and integrated human settlement can be achieved through the combination of capital infrastructure projects, socio-economic improvements and institutional capacity. In order to prove that this theory is effective, four safe node areas were selected for the program's

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<sup>233</sup> First Community Resource Centre. Hanover Park CeaseFire Monthly Report. (Cape Town: First Community Resource Centre January 2013.).

<sup>234</sup> City of Cape Town. Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading Project.

implementation.<sup>235</sup> VPUU works within the targeted areas to first analyse the crime situation and then come up with a sustainable solution. A baseline survey is done to assess the current situation within the target area. Once that is complete, the program works with community members and committees to prioritise the community's needs. Based on these actions, a strategy of interventions is developed. The strategy is called the community action plan. In this plan, the local knowledge is paired with expert knowledge and resources from external sources to overcome the community's problems, namely the social, cultural, economic and institutional exclusion.<sup>236</sup> These four types of exclusion are the fundamental causes of crime and violence. The community action plan establishes time-frames for when projects are to be implemented and local structures set up. Any existing projects or structures are also strengthened to assist with implementation, governance, operation, and maintenance to ensure long-term sustainability. A suitable monitoring system is agreed upon so as to continuously evaluate the progress of the program and its overall impact on crime and safety.<sup>237</sup> VPUU emphasizes the importance of creating well-managed community spaces and project interventions. It relies on local organisations to manage these spaces.

The community action plan should ideally have crime prevention strategies to address the four types of exclusion. For example, situational crime relates to the space and environment where crime breeds.<sup>238</sup> Neighbourhoods that are unkempt, with many abandoned buildings and poor lighting are common places for crime to occur. Situational crime prevention addresses this through urban design, managing abandoned buildings, providing adequate street lighting, and landscaping. Similarly, institutional crime prevention involves community upkeep and includes managing and maintenance of public facilities, leadership development, and economic development.<sup>239</sup> These crime prevention strategies underlie three themes advocated by VPUU – longer term crime prevention, protection and support for victims of crime, and community-building. VPUU identifies stakeholders who have an interest in the design, implementation, and management of crime prevention initiatives

<sup>235</sup> City of Cape Town. Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading Project.

<sup>236</sup> "VPUU: Approach and Methodology." VPUU. (n.p., n.d.)

<sup>237</sup> "VPUU: Approach and Methodology." VPUU. (n.p., n.d.)

<sup>238</sup> "VPUU: Approach and Methodology." VPUU. (n.p., n.d.)

<sup>239</sup> City of Cape Town. Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading Project.

within the targeted communities. These stakeholders vary, and can be from the public, private sector, or from the community itself.<sup>240</sup> The Hanover Park Stakeholder Forum was created in 2010 by the Western Cape Government Community Safety – Social Crime Prevention Initiative to address the increased gang violence in the area. Initially, the forum consisted of only Community Policing Forum representatives, but has since expanded and includes a broader range of participants from different sections of society.<sup>241</sup> For example, stakeholders include the City of Cape Town Sub-Councils in Hanover Park, the City of Cape Town Ward Councillors and Ward Committees in Hanover Park, various civic organisations, community based organisations and faith-based organisations, local street and area committees. They meet at least once a month. These stakeholders also form part of what is called the Safe Node Areas Committee – SNAC – which leads the design, implementation, and management for the safe nodes area.

Because of the amount of funding that it is giving to the CeaseFire program, VPUU has a vested interest in its outcomes. Therefore, monthly meetings regularly occur between VPUU representatives and CeaseFire staff. These meetings update the government on how the program is progressing and any potential concerns or issues are raised at these meetings. In addition, monthly reports are submitted to VPUU.<sup>242</sup> CeaseFire is part of a larger initiative headed by VPUU that aims to reduce crime and violence and to ensure that youth get an adequate social, academic, and moral foundation. This can be achieved by partnering with local organisations to build strong social bonds and trust. VPUU also hopes to build a recreational area for young people, such as a sports facility with a youth centre.<sup>243</sup> This will be taken up with the stakeholders and possibly incorporated into a community action plan. VPUU aims to utilize the participants of CeaseFire's outreach work program to facilitate these projects. Using these high-risk youth will foster their leadership and team-building skills. Another benefit of partnering with VPUU is CeaseFire's role in forming the community action plan. The action plan sets the course of initiatives in the community, and CeaseFire's partnership with VPUU can help steer the action

<sup>240</sup> City of Cape Town. Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading Project.

<sup>241</sup> Von Brucken, CeaseFire (CURE Violence) – Hanover Park Pilot Project. 5.

<sup>242</sup> See First Community Resource Centre, Hanover Park CeaseFire Monthly Report. (January 2013) as an example.

<sup>243</sup> “VPUU: Approach and Methodology.” VPUU.

plan into prioritizing a specific violence prevention strategy. Because the community action plan relies on the involvement of the entire community, a sustainable and holistic violence prevention campaign can be more readily achieved.

However, CeaseFire must be careful not to become embroiled in local politics through its affiliation with VPUU. VPUU is a city department that is backed by a DA government, whereas other organisations that CeaseFire partners with are affiliated with the ANC-backed national government. Having to navigate political alliances is a wasteful way to spend CeaseFire's resources.<sup>244</sup> Therefore, the organisation must take steps to remain politically neutral. In addition, CeaseFire relies heavily on funding from VPUU. In order to maintain more independence, CeaseFire must build upon its other community relationships.

#### ***4C: The Police and Police Affiliations***

##### **4C-1: SAPS and Metro Police**

CeaseFire Hanover Park has a limited relationship with the police, as gangs are extremely distrustful of the police. Yet the model lists the criminal justice system as one of its pillars to curing violence.<sup>245</sup> Without developing better ties with the police, CeaseFire loses out on a potentially vital resource. Briefly, Hanover Park has two different police bodies, the South African Police Service – SAPS – which is the national police institution, and the city police, or Metro Police. In theory, both are meant to work together to reduce crime within the area. However, in reality, politics does play a part in their relationship.<sup>246</sup> SAPS is run by an ANC government, whereas the Metro Police are supervised by a DA-led local government. When the police are blamed for inadequate responses to crime, each organisation tends to blame the other and the political parties that they are affiliated with. Despite the tensions, both police departments have agreed to work together to form roadblock searches and seizures, and to conduct raids on suspected drug dens. The local police station that is responsible for Hanover Park is located in Philippi.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> Papachristos 1054.

<sup>245</sup> Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

<sup>246</sup> Irvin Kinnes. "Uniforms, plastic cops and the madness of 'Superman': An exploration of the dynamics shaping the policing of gangs in Cape Town."

<sup>247</sup> Tony R. Samara, "Gangsterism and the Policing of the Cape Flats." *Cape Town After Apartheid: Crime and Governance in the Divided City*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011) 90.

Under the original Chicago-based model, the police form an integral part of the strategy to reduce violence. The law enforcement in Hanover Park has also attempted to take steps to reduce gang-violence. For example, SAPS is focused on promoting increased police presence in identified crime hotspots within Hanover Park, as well as around high-risk schools.<sup>248</sup> Yet despite these efforts, the police and the community have a strained relationship.<sup>249</sup> The police are seen as promoting their own agenda without regard to the community's input on how crime should be addressed.<sup>250</sup> Their actions can make situations worse, such as when they arrest gang members who are vital to the community's efforts at facilitating peace talks.<sup>251</sup> In addition, some police officers, including high ranking officials, refuse to talk to gang members, saying that they are not afforded any special status within society.

As part of the efforts to promote a more harmonious relationship, the Community Policing Forum has agreed to participate in the Employment Promotion program located at the Philippi SAPS office so as to monitor police service delivery. One way that CeaseFire can build its relationship with the police is by also providing input on how the police carry out their duties in the community. They can serve as a link between gang members and the police. Another vital role that CeaseFire can play is educating the police about the issues that gang members struggle with, and focusing police tactics on curing violence, instead of on eradicating gangs. Finally, CeaseFire can also work with the Community Policing Forum to monitor police service delivery.

#### **4C-2: Community Policing Forum**

The Community Policing Forum consists of local community members who represent a wide range of community sectors, including organisations and institutions such as schools, ratepayers associations, civic organisations, businesses and religious institutions.<sup>252</sup> The members work together with the local police in order to create and maintain a safe environment for citizens living in the CPF's area.

<sup>248</sup> "Uniforms, plastic cops and the madness of 'Superman': An exploration of the dynamics shaping the policing of gangs in Cape Town," 182.

<sup>249</sup> "Gang Warfare; South Africa." (*The Economist*, 404.8797 2012)

<sup>250</sup> "Uniforms, plastic cops and the madness of 'Superman': An exploration of the dynamics shaping the policing of gangs in Cape Town," 177.

<sup>251</sup> Natasha Prince, "Top Cop: I Don't Talk to Gangsters." *The Post*, 26 July 2012.

<sup>252</sup> Western Cape Government. *Contacting Your Community Police Forum*. (n.p., n.d.)

The CPF develops annual community safety plans, which identify priorities and needs for the area.<sup>253</sup> The community safety plan is meant to form part of the local police station's operational plan. In theory, a CPF may also plan and implement its own safety projects, and can apply to the government for funding for these projects.<sup>254</sup> In reality however, many CPFs, including the one in Hanover Park, must rely on its own revenue stream to fund projects. Station Commissioners of local police stations are responsible for establishing CPFs in their areas and almost all police station areas in the Western Cape have a CPF. Each CPF has its own constitution and goals, and may also have Sub-Forums with specific aims. An Executive Committee of the CPF has to be elected regularly, and the Station Commissioner must always be a member of the Executive Committee. Neither the chairperson nor deputy-chairperson of the CPF may be a police officer.

The Hanover Park CPF receives no funding from the government, though they are very active within the community. They have a vested interest in crime prevention and had attended the initial training held by CeaseFire for the area.<sup>255</sup> They had hoped to implement the program, or at the very least, have a prominent role. However, a preliminary baseline survey of Hanover Park youth indicated that most high-risk youth were very cautious of the CPF, and did not trust them. The members of the CPF were viewed as working with the police and were seen as police informers, who reported any actions that were considered suspect. Such assumptions were supported by incidents that were initiated by the CPF to broker peace between gangs and the community. Gang members would attempt to work with CPF to foster a truce, only to be arrested days later by the local police. Though no evidence exists that the CPF were actually involved in the gang member's arrests, it led to much distrust with the area gangs.<sup>256</sup> Because gaining the youth's trust was essential to successfully implementing the plan, FCRC decided against having CPF involved in establishing CeaseFire. This has caused friction between the two organisations, with CPF criticising the program and accusing the program of hiring

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<sup>253</sup> Western Cape Government.

<sup>254</sup> Western Cape Government.

<sup>255</sup> See "CeaseFire Holds in Hanover Park After Two Months of Gang War." *West Cape News* 08 November 2010, for examples of CPF's community engagement.

<sup>256</sup> See specifically Natasha Prince's article in *The Post* - "Top Cop: I Don't Talk to Gangsters."

people who are not reputable within the community.<sup>257</sup> Again, CPF did not have a say in who would be hired as violence interrupters or outreach workers.

Most of the tension, however, has been over funding. CPF hoped that it could work with CeaseFire to distribute the funds more evenly between the two organisations, as they both shared similar objectives. Prior to CeaseFire's implementation, the head of the CPF stated that the City had denied meeting with them to discuss the model and its implementation. They had repeatedly asked to meet with the Mayor, but their requests allegedly fell on deaf ears. According to the head of CPF, Anthony Daniels, the CPF had mediated several peace pacts and ceasefires before the program was even discussed.<sup>258</sup> Therefore, in the minds of the members of the CPF, it seemed a natural progression to be awarded funding for something that they already were a part of.

The CPF is made of active community residents who are interested in keeping their community safe. Typically, the CPF is portrayed in the media as anti-gang, and the CPF and gangs are often pitted against one another, causing the community to become fragmented.<sup>259</sup> Therefore, CeaseFire must strive to form a more stable partnership with them, in order to utilize a more holistic approach to cure violence. Without a better relationship with the CPF, CeaseFire may be viewed as biased towards working only with gang members, which leads to a question of its legitimacy. CeaseFire must bring gang members and the CPF together to lessen the distrust that each side has for the other.

#### ***4D: External Organisations***

##### **4D-1: Trauma Centre**

The Trauma Centre is located in Woodstock and states as its mission that it aims to provide psychosocial services to survivors of social crime, political violence, torture and other cruel and degrading treatment. They also focus on frontline workers who are exposed daily to trauma caused by violence, and provide these workers with avenues to combat trauma and burn-out.<sup>260</sup> The Trauma Centre is

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<sup>257</sup> Von Brucken, CeaseFire Hanover Park Steering Committee Draft Interim Baseline Survey Report.

<sup>258</sup> Faatimah Hendricks, "Lies Over Operation CeaseFire." The Voice of the Cape 26 Sep. 2012.

<sup>259</sup> Prince.

<sup>260</sup> "The Trauma Centre Vision and Mission." The Trauma Centre. (n.p., n.d.)



another resource that CeaseFire can utilize to help clients address the violence that they experience on a daily basis. More importantly, however, the Trauma Centre serves as an important resource for CeaseFire staff. Violence interrupters willingly put themselves in potentially traumatic experiences on a daily basis. As conflict mediators, they bear a huge responsibility to calm people down enough to find alternative solutions to disputes.<sup>261</sup> Yet despite their roles, shootings and gang killings still occur, and often, the interrupters are personally acquainted with the individual who gets shot. In addition, the temptation to relapse is constantly around them and they themselves do not have an extensive enough social support system to help them address these struggles. To compound this problem, due to the confidential nature of their work, interrupters and outreach workers cannot talk to just anyone in their community. A specialized counsellor is needed to help them address the trauma they experience. Further, a specialized counsellor must maintain confidentiality. Organisations such as the Trauma Centre are therefore vital in ensuring that CeaseFire staff is able to handle the challenges of their line of work. The CeaseFire team sees a counsellor at the Trauma Centre once a month.<sup>262</sup> The fact that the Centre is not located in Hanover Park also acts as an additional safeguard to protect the confidential nature of the CeaseFire staff's work. By seeing a therapist within the community, there is a risk that the counsellor will be acquainted with the people that staff may mention in sessions. Having a counsellor who did not grow up in nor is familiar with the people or the environment allows interrupters and outreach workers to speak more freely about their issues.

Overall, CeaseFire has begun the process of integrating various community organisations together under the common goal of eradicating violence. The model recognises that gang violence is a complex, multi-faceted problem, and each community organisation has its own set of strengths that can be used to address the issue.<sup>263</sup> Only by combining these strengths can a long-term solution manifest itself.

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<sup>261</sup> Papachristos 1055.

<sup>262</sup> First Community Resource Centre. CeaseFire – Hanover Park Baseline Survey Report. 8

<sup>263</sup> For a more in-depth discussion on the role of community organisations in addressing violence, See David Nelken. "Community Involvement in Crime Control." (Current Legal Problems. 38.1 1985).

## **Chapter 5: Problems and Prospects**

The CeaseFire model can work within Hanover Park. However, there are several factors that must be taken into consideration as CeaseFire moves forward with the pilot program. The following is a list of such factors. It is by no means exhaustive, but rather serves as a starting point for more thoroughly adapting the program to suit the community's needs.

### ***5A: Acceptance of violence in the community***

For decades, violence has been a part of the history and life of Hanover Park. This violence has become intertwined with other aspects of living and many individuals have become disheartened by the issue, saying that there is not much that can be done, except avoid dangerous areas as best as one can.<sup>264</sup> Many residents also feel that they are not being heard, and that the city prioritizes the needs of other communities first. Moreover, numerous initiatives have already been introduced into the area, yet few are long-lasting. The community must be galvanized to take action, as that is a focal point to CeaseFire's strategy. Community members must have some active role to play in reducing violence, as well. By making it a priority to host more community events, where members are encouraged to speak out and discuss their trauma, community apathy will be decreased. Examples of such events include the prayer vigils that occur after shootings, as well as community rallies that carry the message that violence will no longer be tolerated.<sup>265</sup> Furthermore, more events that bring the community together with gang members will help humanize the situation, as both sides can put concrete faces on the issue. Community members will be able to talk to the gang members they feel have inflicted the violence, and gang members will see who they are affecting through their actions.

### ***5B: Credibility in the Community***

Another problem is the perception that CeaseFire staff has within the community. Several staff is former gang members, and some interrupters were part of the number gang while in prison. Though CeaseFire is very clear that anyone who was associated with gangs must now be reformed, the program still draws

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<sup>264</sup>David Kneen, "Hoodlums and Hell in Hanover Park." Cape Argus 17 March 1990.

<sup>265</sup>Papachristos 1055.

criticism for its hiring practices. In particular, CeaseFire Hanover Park does not use many of the safeguards that CeaseFire Chicago uses. CeaseFire Hanover Park does not conduct drug testing on its clients, nor do they have a minimum education requirement. CeaseFire rather relies on the candidate's reputation within the community, and particularly on the opinions of the gangs they work with. In effect, CeaseFire relies upon word-of-mouth and the client's assurances that they have renounced their past affiliations and gang ties. Community members are sceptical that reform has actually occurred, especially because they feel that they have little to no input on who gets hired. In addition, CeaseFire makes it a point to clarify that the organisation is not anti-gang, it is rather anti-violence. For many community residents, however, gangs are the main source of the problem and therefore should be broken up and its members locked away. An extreme example of this sentiment was in the formation of PAGAD, a vigilante group who resorted to killing particularly violent gang members. Though support for this organisation was short-lived, it crystallises the sentiment that people within the Cape Flats have towards gangs.<sup>266</sup> Police officers have also shown their unwillingness to cooperate with gangs, as they are seen as untrustworthy, violent skollies.<sup>267</sup> CeaseFire Hanover Park must take steps to change the community's perception of gangs and the popularly held belief that, 'once a gangster, always a gangster.' Forums geared towards addressing the topic should be open to all community residents and interrupters and outreach workers should attend community events that are sponsored by other organisations, including churches. Only by changing the community's perception of gang-members can CeaseFire hope to gain community support.

### ***5C: Lack-of Funding for Community Organisations***

Another bar to community support is the fact that CeaseFire has been awarded a huge contract with the government. While other organisations struggle to find funding to keep themselves afloat, CeaseFire has been given R9 million over the span of 3 years.<sup>268</sup> For the duration of these three years, the program will not

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<sup>266</sup> Jensen 185.

<sup>267</sup> Prince.

<sup>268</sup> City of Cape Town, Report to Executive Mayor. 5.

have to worry about where the money will come from. In addition, they get the city's support and guidance in managing the program.<sup>269</sup> This has fostered resentment within the community, as local organisations, some of whom have been around for decades, have felt that their work has gone largely unnoticed by the city. While some organisations have distanced themselves from working with CeaseFire, other local organisations have agreed to partner with the program in the hopes of obtaining CeaseFire's funding for their own projects and initiatives.

The CPF is one such organisation that had initially expressed hostility towards the city for not engaging them in talks about how the R9 million was to be spent within the community, only to later attempt to work with CeaseFire with the expectation of using some of the funds to support their own initiatives.<sup>270</sup> The CPF prided itself on working within the community long before CeaseFire, in order to maintain peace between warring gangs.<sup>271</sup> Without any funds, other than the money from their own pockets, the CPF attempted to bring gang members together to discuss a truce. Once the CeaseFire model was given government money, CPF members sought to be hired by the program to continue peace efforts. The result has been that the overarching goal of stopping violence within the community has been pushed aside due to feelings of bitterness and resentment. The CeaseFire program must clearly explain to community organisations such as CPF how the money is being used and invite these organisations to find creative ways where they can all work together to reduce violence. CeaseFire cannot be seen as the cash cow that will fund all initiatives within the neighbourhood.

### ***5D: Politics***

Party politics plays a huge role throughout different sectors of South African society, and its effects can be felt even at the grassroots level of community mobilization. CeaseFire's contract was awarded by the city of Cape Town, which is currently led by the DA political party. However, CeaseFire's aim is to include different community stakeholders into the process of curing violence in Hanover Park. This includes involving members of the opposing party, the ANC. Navigating

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<sup>269</sup> First Community Resource Centre. Hanover Park CeaseFire Monthly Report. 3.

<sup>270</sup> Hendricks.

<sup>271</sup> Prince.

these relationships can be difficult, for example, when trying to work with SAPS, whose ties with the ANC -led national government can cause them to oppose decisions put forth by the city or by the Metro Police, which is governed by the city. In addition, CeaseFire has to also address power struggles with local politicians, such as Hanover Park's ward councillor. Though currently the councillor is a DA politician, because he is in charge of representing the community, he desires to have a say in the programs that are run within his area. Because CeaseFire is a massively-funded and media-attracting campaign, the ward councillor desires to have some input on how it is managed. CeaseFire is not a political organisation, however, and it should take care not to repeat the problems that CeaseFire Chicago experienced when dealing with political parties.<sup>272</sup> By aligning itself too close with either the ANC or the DA, CeaseFire may create a perception of political allegiance, which again causes the community to lose sight of the main message.

### ***5E: Not a community-inspired solution***

Local organisations such as CASE and the CPF have worked in Hanover Park for years, and have earned praise for their work. Their efforts are considered to be the model of local, sustainable grassroots mobilization. In contrast, CeaseFire is a model that has been proven to work in a different country, with different cultural standards and norms. The criticism with the model being implemented in Hanover Park is that already-existing community models should be given government support so that they can continue to grow and revitalise the community. Local organisations are run by active community members, who are extremely knowledgeable with the issues that affect their community, and have shown a commitment to invest in the community. By funding a foreign program, the government turns its back on the efforts that are already being made to better Hanover Park. Both the government and CeaseFire must address this tension and secure partnerships beyond FCRC. CeaseFire must also establish its image within the community, and highlight the work that it is doing for the area. A media campaign that emphasises how the model relates to the community would also be a beneficial avenue to pursue. Finally, CeaseFire must educate residents on the universality of the problem of gang

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<sup>272</sup> Papachristos 1054.

violence. Though CeaseFire may be a foreign approach, the problems that Hanover Park faces are similar to a problem shared with other communities.

### ***5F: Relationship with the Police***

Unlike CeaseFire Chicago, CeaseFire Hanover Park does not have an established relationship with the local police authorities, as evidenced by the fact that the police do not have any input as to who gets hired as an interrupter. Though CeaseFire Hanover Park meets with high ranking SAPS and Metro Police officers, these officers do not have the familiarity with the area that local police officers based in the area do, and can only offer limited feedback on what the community actually needs. The perception of the police is one of hostility, as they themselves admit that they are reluctant to talk to gangsters, citing that gang members should be arrested and locked up if they partake in criminal activities.<sup>273</sup> In addition, a widely held belief exists that corrupt officers are paid off by local, powerful gang members.<sup>274</sup> These conditions make it difficult for CeaseFire staff to build strong ties to the police.<sup>275</sup> The police are still a vital part of the community, and are still called upon when crime occurs. Therefore, CeaseFire must maintain a relationship at the grassroots level with the police.

### ***5G: Maintaining Confidentiality***

Though the police have agreed to partner with CeaseFire, they remain committed to apprehending gang-members suspected of engaging in wrongdoing. Outreach workers often work with gang members who engage in illegal activities. They build trusting relationships with these individuals and encourage them to make healthier choices without trying to judge or condemn the choices that they have already made.<sup>276</sup> As part of CeaseFire's efforts to document interactions for data collection, workers record their interactions, as well. Yet outreach workers cannot obstruct justice should the police or prosecution demand access to their records and obtain the authority to gain that access. To get around this, workers have used

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<sup>273</sup> Prince.

<sup>274</sup> Kinnes. "Contesting Police Governance: Respect Authority and Belonging in Organised Violent Gangs in Cape Town" 40.

<sup>275</sup> *The Economist* 44.

<sup>276</sup> Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

aliases to identify clients and tried to keep the knowledge of their client's identities out of their paperwork.

The other side of this, however, is that caseworkers can act as advocates in court for their clients. Workers are unsure if they should be present during their client's court hearings. Oftentimes however, outreach workers are the closest support that these youth have, since many youth come from broken homes where parents do not have the time for families.<sup>277</sup> Workers are also privy to information about the client that may be useful to the judge, yet they are unsure how to best proceed within a court of law. CeaseFire should develop ties with an attorney who is familiar with court procedures to help the organisation's staff navigate through the legal process. CeaseFire can also develop ties with organisations such as Legal Aid and NICRO. Both organisations have extensive knowledge about the criminal justice system and could advise CeaseFire on how to protect their client's confidentiality while also best helping them in court.

### ***5H: Support for Interrupters***

Other than the basic training that is given to them before starting, the interrupters do not have any additional training in conflict mediation and trauma counselling. They must rely on their street skills to manoeuvre dangerous and violent situations, often with people they are familiar with in the community.<sup>278</sup> In addition, they face a lot of the pressure that comes with a pilot program that garners much media attention. Because interrupters are an integral part of the model, the interrupters do carry an additional responsibility, as the public associates shooting statistics with the work that the interrupters do. However, despite all their efforts, shootings and killings still occur, and these incidents have an impact on the interrupters. Moreover, the interrupters must strive to maintain their image within the public as reformed gang members. The interrupters need support to help them struggle with the day-to-day pressures of their line of work. However, to exacerbate the issue, the interrupters cannot discuss their work with their family and loved ones because of the confidential nature of the program. The interrupters are contracted to work with a counsellor once a month at the Trauma Centre. However, seeing a

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<sup>277</sup>Ward 214.

<sup>278</sup>Teddi Dineley Johnson 8.

counsellor once a month for an hour or two merely scratches the surface of the issues that the interrupters carry. In addition, the limited time they spend with the counsellor inhibits them from further establishing a trusting relationship so that the interrupters can comfortably share their problems. CeaseFire should hire an on-call therapist, who is able to meet with the staff on a more regular basis, such as once a week or once every two weeks. Being able to see a professional therapist more often will give interrupters the added support that they need to continue to do the job and avoid burn-out.

### ***5I: The Prospects for Sustainability and Violence Reduction***

Despite the challenges that CeaseFire faces, it can be effective in Hanover Park. Gang violence calls for the entire community to engage in a solution, and the model is one of the few that actively endorses working extensively with gang members.<sup>279</sup> CeaseFire is innovative in its approach to gangs, as it breaks away from the traditional view of merely calling for more community involvement and tougher law enforcement. The model recognises that gang members need support to help them make decisions to stop engaging in violent behaviour, and it provides that support in the form of outreach workers and interrupters. By developing stronger ties with the community and other interested partners, CeaseFire can help incorporate gang members into the discussion on how to end violence.

In conclusion, gang violence is not merely a problem that is relegated to one part of the world. It is a global issue, and numerous international organisations and initiatives have come together to combat it.<sup>280</sup> Because of the universality of the problem, it is necessary to share approaches amongst different communities. As Hanover Park's own history shows, many factors contribute to the emergence of such violence, and it will take a combination of approaches and community involvement to eradicate the disease. CeaseFire takes the nature of the problem and offers a whole new lens from which to view it. By viewing violence as a disease, it takes the blame away from gang members as the perpetrators, and instead views them as the carriers of violence.<sup>281</sup> Gang members must be treated, so as to get rid

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<sup>279</sup> Sweas 16.

<sup>280</sup> Pillay 51.

<sup>281</sup> Page 20.



of the disease, but the real evil itself is violence.<sup>282</sup> CeaseFire's approach includes gang members in the solution, and avoids dividing communities between sides, where one belongs to gangs and their supporters, and the other side belongs to the community and law enforcement. Only by including every member of society as a stakeholder in the community can violence be truly eradicated.

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Sweas 16.

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